Alexander Kulik

3 Baruch

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3 Baruch

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For my father and mother,
Eduard Kulik and Maria Neverodsky

Blessed is he who has acquired knowledge:
He is troubled neither by his people's calamity,
nor by an inclination to unjust action.
He observes the ageless cosmos of immortal nature,
how it has been formed, in what way and manner.
The urge to shameful deeds never dwells with such people.

Euripides, *Fr.* 910

Virtue, unlocking heaven to those who deserve not to die,
tries denied ways …

Horace, *Odes* 3.2

… you must firmly believe
In the beginnings and in the ends. You must know
Where Hell and Paradise lie in wait for us.
You are given a fearless measure
To measure all that you see.
Your sight – let it be strong and clear.
Erase accidental lines –
And you will see: the world is beautiful.

Alexander Blok, *Retribution*

With the farming of a verse
Make a vineyard of the curse,
Sing of human unsuccess
In a rapture of distress.
In the deserts of the heart
Let the healing fountains start,
In the prison of his days
Teach the free man how to praise.

W.H. Auden, *In Memory of W. B. Yeats*

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My special gratitude is due to my family: my parents, to whom I dedicate this book, and to Lara, Shlomit, Joseph, and Hanna for their long-enduring patience and help.

I would also like to address my reader and humbly ask for forgiveness for any mistakes, omissions or overly bold assumptions that may still be encountered in the text. The responsibility for them remains mine alone. I made a sincere effort to understand the book, and did my best to introduce innovations without at the same time impinging on the usefulness of my study as a handy and lucid reference tool.

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Jerusalem
May 2009 Alexander Kulik

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INTRODUCTION

I. Purposes and Methods

Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch (= *3 Baruch*) stands out among apocalyptic writings with respect to both the nature of the composition itself and its treatment in the history of research. Despite the fact that it is one of the six "major" early Jewish apocalypses (*1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *2 Baruch*, *3 Baruch*, *4 Ezra*), it has been relatively neglected in modern scholarship. This can be demonstrated by even a cursory glance at the index of sources in any monograph in relevant fields. Whereas citations and detailed analyses of other apocalyptic compositions abound, *3 Baruch* often does not appear in these works at all. At best, it is mentioned in footnotes, and even then, it tends to appear only in lists of other sources containing a common motif. To be sure, there have been some seminal studies devoted to *3 Baruch*, which have stimulated awareness of the book, and I gratefully acknowledge my debt to the authors of these works below. Nevertheless, the book has not been properly integrated into broader scholarly discussion, and in the absence of intensive and polyphonic academic discourse, even brilliant works that have appeared in recent decades cannot bridge the gap. It would seem that the reason for this situation is the fact that *3 Baruch* is one of the most difficult works to comprehend and classify. This sense of obscurity functions as both cause and effect in a vicious circle of lack of understanding and lack of scholarly attention. In addition to this, there are more factors that make this apocalypse one of the most challenging early Jewish texts:

– *3 Baruch* is not a typical apocalypse. The content of *3 Baruch* differs significantly from that of other writings of the same genre. The book preserves syncretistic ideas and tendencies which are combined in unique ways. Its seer (or "visionary") does not attain the experience of a theophany, which is the ultimate goal of most other seers. Furthermore, collective eschatology, the central issue of apocalyptic literature, does not find its place here. *3 Baruch* is most probably a Jewish composition, but it is universal in its interests, and the vision itself (in contrast to its prologue) does not explicitly mention any specifically Jewish values, concerns, or religious practices. Its lack of interest in the future is matched by its indifference to the past of the nation; it is as loudly silent about the sacral history of Israel as it is about eschatology.

In certain cases, the very fact that the book does not fully belong to a "classical paradigm" of ancient apocalyptic literature can help shed light on the enigmas of other, more typical, compositions. As we know from numerous fields of knowledge, marginal and atypical sources frequently offer a fresh perspective that can provide answers to the most sore questions raised with regard to more "central" and influential exemplars.

– The worldview, the message, and the very textual structure of *3 Baruch* are enigmatic in many aspects. As a result, the book has earned such descriptions as "a good example of a degenerative apocalypse … strange sights, the account of which is grotesque rather than impressive,"[1] "naïve childishness,"[2] "trivial invention,"[3] "amateurish."[4] I will try to show, however, that the incomprehensibility of *3 Baruch* is due to the fact that it is filled with non-explicit data, which may have been clear to its target audience while being hidden from modern readers. It appears that this mode of communication was employed in *3 Baruch* to a greater extent than in other esoteric compositions (see *Implied content* and *Method: Riddles and subtexts* below).

  Implicit meanings, structural links in the text, and conceptions behind the text are partly reconstructable, though there is inevitably a range in the probability of reconstructions of implied data. In this study, some bold assumptions and juxtapositions are introduced when they are needed to make the text intelligible. Such reconstructions are offered mostly when the passage or motif under discussion would otherwise be incoherent due to internal inconsistencies or factors pertaining to intertextual contexts. Thus, the basic methodological principle underlying this study is a commitment (1) to achieve a comprehension of initial and editorial meanings of the text at different stages of its development, as well as of its message, method, and worldview, while (2) taking into consideration a certain degree of distortion over the course of textual history and (3) defining the place and roots of these topics in Jewish lore and literary tradition, as far as they are preserved in early Jewish sources, including Jewish Hellenistic, Rabbinic, Gnostic, and Christian writings.

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1 Torrey, "Apocalypse," 674.
2 Ferrar, "Baruch," 93.
3 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 120.
4 Wright, *Heaven*, 168.

– *3 Baruch* is interesting also for its textual history. The Slavonic translation from Greek preserved a version more authentic than the extant Greek text. The latter is also very instructive, reflecting a reception of an older version by its early readers, and in fact looks like an explanatory *targum* to it. Their common proto-text has also undergone meaningful editorial changes before splitting into two rescensions. In the case of *3 Baruch* these changes may be traced and bring us closer to the original form of the book. The book is obviously of a composite nature, and in this case we need not rely upon such dubious criteria as types of outlook or style in order to identify the stratification of layers, since the hands of the redactors can be detected by relatively clear basic philological considerations.

Formally, the present study consists of the introduction, translation, notes, and commentaries.

The introduction classifies and summarizes the observations and argumentations given in detail in the commentary. Therefore, the introduction contains only the references to the text of *3 Baruch*, while all the argumentation, as well as references to primary sources and research literature may be found in the commentaries to the relevant verses.

The *translation* presents a synopsis of the Greek and Slavonic versions. The latter follows the synthetic text based mainly on ms L. In the cases of polysemantic forms, I have tried to choose the meanings common for both rescensions when they seemed likely to have derived from the common source, in contrast to other cases, when the divergence seemed more likely to have originated from discrepancies in their *Vorlagen*, or to be the result of translation technique or errors in the Slavonic version.

In the *notes* I have tried to confine my remarks to purely textual issues. However, when issues of content have had an impact upon textual choices, these points are raised in the notes as well. Conversely, where textual problems have had an influential role in interpretation, there is expansion of the textual discussion in the commentary. There are more notes to the Slavonic version, due to its more complicated textual history and the large number of copies that have survived from different periods and regions, in contrast to the two Greek manuscripts which contain insignificant, mostly orthographic, discrepancies.

The main body of the research is presented in the form of a detailed *commentary* which follows the order of the text. The fragmented nature of discussion prescribed by the genre of commentary is partly compensated by multiple cross-references to the issues common for different sections of the text. Furthermore, many key issues that arise in several passages and

demand an integrative analysis are treated separately in the introductory sections of the commentaries to specific chapters.[5]

As a rule, ancient sources cited in the commentary were either newly translated or their translations were significantly revised.

[5] In fact, there are three levels of generalization in this work: the introductory commentaries to chapters are summarized in the general introduction, which in turn is briefly summed up in the *General conclusions* below.

II. Manuscript Evidence

3 Baruch is preserved through two Greek and at least twelve South- and East-Slavic manuscripts (not including later reworkings). The Greek texts are found in the British Museum manuscript Add. 10.073 dated to the 15th–16th centuries (hereafter – ms A), and in the Monastery of the Hagia (the island of Andros), manuscript no. 46.39, dated to the beginning of the 15th century (ms B). There are no significant discrepancies between the two, and they even share numerous misreadings, grammatical errors and orthographic deviations. Although Picard regarded ms B as the earlier version, it is not a source for ms A (as is clear from the obvious parablepsis in 6:16, absent in ms A).[6]

The textual history of the Slavonic rescension was elaborated upon in the critical edition by Gaylord.[7] Among the Slavonic manuscripts, the one closest to the Greek version is the 13th century South-Slavic St. Petersburg, RNB, Greč 70 (ms L). Together with two East-Slavic abridged copies – Moscow, RGB, f. 272, Syn. 363 of the 15th–16th centuries (ms T) and Moscow, GIM, Barsov (signature unknown) of the 17th–18th centuries (ms B) – it constitutes the family α of the Slavonic rescension. Both T and B at times witness readings closer to the Greek version than ms L.

In the family β Gaylord distinguishes two groups of South-Slavic manuscripts:

(1) β^1, comprised of Belgrade, NB, 651 of the 13th–14th centuries (ms S), Zagreb, KJAZU III.a.20 [Šibenićki Zbornik] of the 16th century (ms N), the Glagolitic Zagreb, NSB, R4001 [Petrisov Sbornik] of 1468 (ms Z); and

(2) β^2 with Sofia, NBKM, 433 [Panagjurski Sbornik] of the 16th century (ms P), Vienna, ÜNB, Slav. 149 of the 16th century (ms V), Sofia, NBKM, 326 (Adžarskij Sbornik) of the 16th century (ms I), Goljamo Belovo, Bulgaria of the 17th–18th centuries (ms D).

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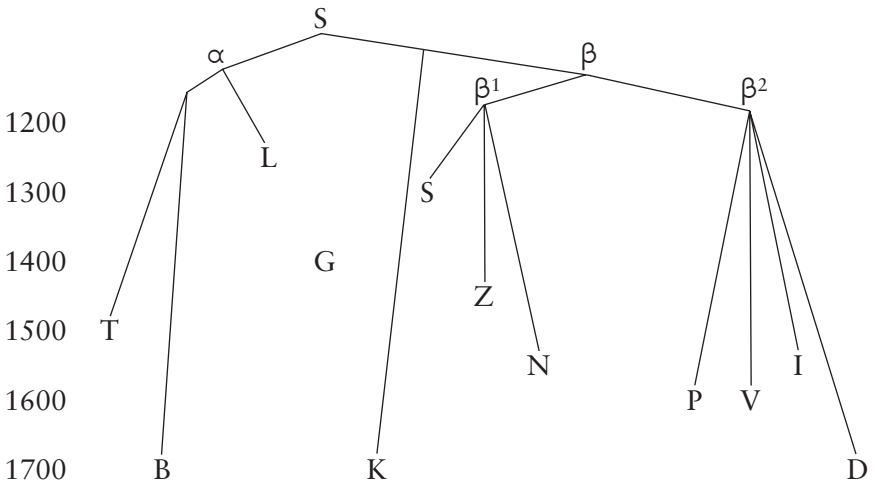
[6] Picard, "Apocalypsis."

[7] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, xxi–xxvii.

There are also two copies of which only fragments are preserved: Belgrade, NB, 828 of 1409 (ms G) and Kiev, CBAN, Sp. 168/III of the 18th century (ms K).

Although the family β is in general the result of inner-Slavic redaction (including expansions, omissions and revisions of earlier readings reflected in the Greek version and the family α) in some cases it preserves better readings. This means that the divergence between the textual families took place in the South-Slavic area prior to the 13th century. Some misreadings may witness the Glagolitic Slavonic proto-text and uncial Greek *Vorlage*. The stemma of the Slavic version according to Gaylord are as follows:



The relationship between the Greek and Slavic versions are examined in *Reconstructed Content* below.

III. Scholarship

As observed above, *3 Baruch* is an "underdog" among ancient Jewish apocalypses, and the history of its research is not rich. It was introduced to scholarship in 1886, when Stojan Novaković published the Slavonic ms N.[8] The Greek text found in British Museum by E. Cuthbert Butler was published by Montague R. James in 1897.[9] Since then six more Slavonic manuscripts have been published: ms T by Nikolaj Savvich Tikhonravov in 1894,[10] ms K by Mikhail Mikhailovich Speranskij in 1906,[11] mss BPS were published by Mikhail Iur'evich Sokolov in 1907,[12] and ms Z by Eduard Hercigonja in 1964.[13] Jordan Ivanov republished ms S with discrepancies from mss NP in 1925.[14] The bibliography published by Alexandr Ivanovich Jatsimirskij in 1921 included almost all of the manuscripts known today (except ms D).[15] The second known Greek copy was published by Jean-Claude Picard in his critical edition of the Greek text in 1967.[16] The decisive breakthrough in the textual research on *3 Baruch* was achieved by Harry E. Gaylord, who prepared a critical edition of the Slavonic version in his dissertation at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1983.[17]

The Slavonic ms N was translated to German by Gottlieb Nathanael Bonwetsch in 1896[18] and then into English by William R. Morfill in 1897.[19] Wolfgang Hage translated ms S into German in 1974,[20] while Donka Petkanova – the eclectic text based on mss SNPI to Bulgarian in 1981,[21] A. Iu.

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[8] Novaković, "Otkrivene."
[9] James, "Baruch,"
[10] Tikhonravov, "Otkrovenie;" cf. Milkov, "Otkrovenie," 480–87.
[11] Speranskij, *Izvestija*.
[12] Sokolov, "Apokrificheskoe."
[13] Hercigonja, "Videnie," 63–72.
[14] Ivanov, *Bogomilski*, 193–200.
[15] Jatsimirskij, *Bibliograficheskij*.
[16] Picard, "Apocalypsis."
[17] Gaylord, *Slavonic*.
[18] Bonwetsch, "Slavisch."
[19] Morfill, "Apocalypse."
[20] Hage, *Griechische*, 15–44.
[21] Petkanova, *Apokrifi*.

Karpov and Vladimir Vladimirovich Milkov – presented a Russian translation of ms T in 1990 and 1999 respectively.[22] The Greek version was first translated into German by Victor Ryssel in 1900,[23] into English by Henry M. Hughes in 1913,[24] into Hebrew by Eliyahu Shemuel Hartom in 1967,[25] into Spanish by Natalio Fernández Marcos in 1990,[26] and into Russian by Maria and Vadim Vitkovskij in 2001.[27] The parallel versions were translated by Harry E. Gaylord in 1983.[28]

Mikhail Iur'evich Sokolov, Emil Turdeanu, and Harry E. Gaylord have made the most noticeable contribution to the textual study of the Slavic rescension and its relation to the Greek version. Among relatively recent works, the studies by Richard J. Bauckham, John Collins, Mary Dean-Otting, George W. E. Nickelsburg, Andrei Orlov, Jean-Claude Picard, Rainer Stichel, and Edward J. Wright are of crucial significance in the collective attempt to understand *3 Baruch*.[29] The history of research of *3 Baruch* has culminated in two studies without which the present work would not be possible: the unpublished critical edition of the Slavonic version by Harry E. Gaylord[30] and the thorough and insightful monograph by Daniel C. Harlow.[31]

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22 Karpov, "Otkrovenie," 276–82; Milkov, "Otkrovenie," 488–93.
23 Ryssel, "Apokalypsen."
24 Hughes, "Greek."
25 Hartom, "Hazon."
26 Fernández Marcos, "Apocalipsis."
27 Vitkovskij, "Otkrovenie."
28 Gaylord, "Baruch."
29 See General Bibliography, *3 Baruch*: Articles and Chapters.
30 Gaylord, *Slavonic*.
31 Harlow, *Baruch*.

IV. Original Language

There is no evidence that the Greek text of *3 Baruch* had a Hebrew or Aramaic original. All obvious Hebraisms found in the book are biblicisms that are also attested in other Judeo-Greek texts. The gematria calculations, based on Greek words put into Hebrew letters, demonstrate that their author knew at least the Hebrew alphabet (4:7G; 4:10). The text probably has several wordplays, some of which are based on polysemy, homophony, and homeophony of Greek words: ἔλαιον "oil" and ἔλεος "mercy" (ms T 4:7S and 15:1S; πτώσεως (gen. sg.) "calamity" and πόσεως (gen. sg.) "drinking" (4:17G); παράπτω "kindle" and "transgress"; θλίβω "compress" and "afflict" (9:7G; 15:1S). A hypothetical wordplay may also refer to the similarity of Hebrew roots עוף "bird" and עיף "faint, weary" (8:2, 3, 6G; the same word-play is attested in *Exod. Rab.* 38).

V. Date

There are no decisive data indicating the dating of *3 Baruch*. Usually any reference to the destruction of the Temple serves as an argument for the post-destruction origin of a composition. Origen (*Princ*. 2.3.6) may provide a *terminus ad quem*, if his reference to a "book of the prophet Baruch," in which there are "very clear indications of the seven worlds or heavens", is understood as a reference to a version of *3 Baruch,* though with different ouranology (seven heavens instead of five or fewer in the original text) and different terminology ("world" for heaven) than the extant versions of the book.

VI. Provenance

Like most apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings, *3 Baruch* has been preserved in Christian tradition. As shown below (see *Reconstructed Content*) the earlier rescension of the book most probably did not include any specifically Christian materials. Nevertheless, as far as we can judge from the extant redactions, it contained contradictory tendencies, which could have been developed in either direction. On the one hand, the vision itself seems indifferent to the sacred history of Israel, both past and future: the latest historical figure mentioned is Noah, a universal patriarchal figure; there are no explicit references to any specifically Jewish values, or to the dichotomy of Israel and the nations, and collective eschatology is not treated at all. On the other hand, the setting of the vision shows a concern for the theodicy pertaining to the destruction of the Temple. The relationship of this "particularist" problem to the universalistic vision is not clarified, and may be interpreted in either Rabbinic or Christian terms – either as a consolation and theodical justification, or as a message about the insignificance of the terrestial Temple.

At the same time, the text is deeply rooted in Jewish lore and cannot be understood out of the context of traditions preserved in Jewish (and even specifically Rabbinic) literature. Thus, the question of whether its Jewish author believed that Jesus of Nazareth was the true messiah may seem irrelevant or at least impossible to determine, as long as the text does not directly reflect such a belief or a dependence on early Christian texts. Rabbinic Jewish and Christian Jewish authors of the period shared many common traditions and interests. The question of the potential compatibility of the book's content with Christian ideas is more relevant to the reception of the text, as a Christian hand is recognizable in reworked layers of the composition. Thus some readings of the reworked Greek version, in addition to Christian terminology, citations and paraphrases from the New Testament, may hint that the destruction of the Temple is not only deserved (as in 1:3S), but is not important (1:3G), and that the paradigmatic sinners are the Jews (16:2G). In the case of *3 Baruch* we are delivered from the vicious circle of the assumptions that the Christian passages must be interpolations since the text is Jewish, and that the text must be Jewish, since all that is Christian is interpolated. Here we are lucky to have the Slavonic

version, which serves as a witnesses to a pre-Christianized stage: the Slavonic version does not contain the Christian materials of the Greek reworking and preserves clues of an earlier redaction (see *Reconstructed Content* below).

Our text shares a significant number of unique or rare traditions with Gnostic writings; however, despite its transcendentalist and probably angelolatric tendencies, it has nothing to do with Gnostic theology. This observation counts in favor of the hypothesis that the uniquely Gnostic traditions which reappear later in Jewish mysticism may reflect a common Jewish heritage[32] or may even be rooted in more widely circulating Mediterranean lore. Among these proto-Gnostic traditions one might mention the presentation of the building of the Tower of Babel as a demonic plot (*Paraph. Shem* 24–25); blind celestial forces (cf. blind archons of *Hyp. Arch. passim*); the conception of the cosmic serpent as a place of torment in the afterlife (*Pistis Sophia* 3.126) or as a holder of Hades (*Acts Thom.* 32); traditions about five celestial trees (*Gos. Thom.* 19:3–4; Bala'izah Gnostic fragment; *Pistis Sophia* 1.1 and 10; 2.86; 3.95; etc.); the satanic and serpentine origin of vine (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 3.45.1.2); and chrismatic "seals" for the afterlife (*Ap. John* 31.22–25; Origen, *Cels.* 6.27, 34).

Our interpretation of the relationship between *3 Baruch* and Gnostic tradition may, with certain precautions, be implemented also for some commonalities found between *3 Baruch* and early Christian tradition. With the Gnostics, the contradiction between the availability of common material and the obvious disagreement of the respective outlooks point towards a common Jewish substratum rather than direct influence. Such a hypothesis would be less demonstrable for explaining Christian parallels: our text is preserved in Christian tradition and does not contradict Christian doctrines. Nevertheless, we can raise the possibility of proto-Christian motifs in *3 Baruch*, especially when significant variation in details testify against direct borrowing. These parallels would be of particular interest in instances when they provide a clarification or complementation for some unique or obscure early Christian imagery which, in turn, could have been rooted in the Jewish traditions witnessed by *3 Baruch*. Among these are the motifs of the Tree of Knowledge planted by Sammael (4:8) and the parable of tares; "false wheat" planted by "the Adversary" when the "man" (Adam?) is asleep (Matt 13:24–30; cf. the Tree of Knowledge as wheat in *Gen. Rab.* 15.7; *b. Ber.* 40a; *b. Sanh.* 70a); angels as bearers of the flowers (of the Paradise of Virtues?; 12:1G; cf. 4:7S; 4:10) and angels as harvesters

[32] Idel, *Kabbalah*, 30, 116.

of the same parable (Matt 13:39); the uprooted Vine of Knowledge planted by Sammael (4:10) and the uprooting of the "plant which my heavenly Father has not planted" (Matt 15:13; it is specifically the vine in *Gos. Thom.* 40 and par); the lake of the souls (10:5G) followed by the oil reward (from the Olive of Life?; 15:1–2); the washing in the "water of life" which provides the "right to the Tree of Life" (Rev 22:1–2, 14, 17 and par.); the "Kingdom of Heaven" as an abode of the righteous guarded by a key-holder in 11:2 and in Matt 8:11 and 16:19; the structurally similar descriptions of the angelic offering of flowers (12–15) and the angelic incense offering (Rev 5:8; 8:3–5); the locusts plague (16:3) opposed to the oil reward (chrismatic seal?; 15:2) and the locusts plague opposed to protective seal (Rev 9:3–11); and many more similarities with NT, as well as with Christian pseudepigrapha and the works of the Church Fathers. All these parallels, although only attested in Christian literature, do not contain specifically Christian conceptions, and in this they do not differ from abundant Christian parallels to other traditions more widely attested in early Jewish literature.

Another kind of question is the extent to which the author was influenced by non-Jewish Hellenistic traditions and whether the text reflects a provenance in Palestine or elsewhere. The work in its current form shows a substantial degree of Hellenization. This is evident in the language itself, in gematrias based on Greek words, in names of rivers, and in *translatio graeca* of Hebrew concepts such as the well known substitution of Sheol by Hades, or the correspondence, found only in *3 Baruch,* of the protective bird Ziz by Phoenix (adopting not only the Greek name, but also some of its characteristics). In addition to these elements, which could have been introduced or modified during translation or transmission, we also find Hellenistic concepts and images that are central to the composition. These include: the celestial afterlife, Acherusian lake (though unnamed), and solar and lunar chariots that bear anthropomorphic riders. At the same time, the cosmology of the apocalypse has nothing to do with new Greco-Roman theories, and some of the Hellenistic features mentioned above might have had Near Eastern equivalents, which could have been adopted by Jews without Greek mediation. Among the most prominent Near Eastern traditions partly shared with Greeks are the sun chariots, known to Jews since biblical times, and the complex of Egyptian ideas on the ascent of *ba* (soul-bird), its purification in the celestial lake, and the range of heavenly gates.

One feature that might point toward a Palestinian provenance is the idea that only rain water can cause plants to be productive. This is plausible in Palestine, where the agriculture is based primarily on rain water, but could hardly be raised in countries with developed irrigation cultures.

VII. Content

1. Extant Content

Below is a summary of the last redactions of *3 Baruch* as attested in the extant versions. The attempts to figure out the contents of earlier redactions, on the one hand, and the most obvious implied data behind the explicit account, on the other, are presented in the following chapters (*Reconstructed Content* and *Implied Content*).

Weeping at the gates of the destroyed Temple, Baruch seeks a theodicy for the catastrophe. In response, an angel sent by God promises to show him the "great mysteries." The angel takes him to "where heaven was set," and to the river that cannot be crossed by any "alien breath." Having arrived at the "first heaven," they enter the very large door, and after a month-long journey, they find a plain inhabited by strangely shaped creatures. Baruch's first question is about "the thickness of heaven in which we journeyed;" he learns that it is equal to the height of the sky and the width of heaven (thus G; S equates it to the width of earth, while the width of heaven is as the height of the sky).

The angel takes Baruch to the "second heaven," where they find almost the same creatures, only dog-faced, who are also identified as the builders of the Tower of Babel. Then Baruch learns how they afflicted a woman in the throes of childbirth and wanted to bore through heaven in order to study its composition; moreover, he learns how they were punished with blindness and confusion of languages.

After further long journey through another long gate, Baruch sees another plain with the Serpent and Hades "around him" (in G; below, the latter is also identified as a belly of the former). Baruch learns about the eating and drinking habits of the monster: "the dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly" (G; in S it eats earth instead) and drinks every day a regular portion of water from the sea, which still does not sink, being filled with rivers, a list of which is given.

The vision of Serpent-Hades is interrupted by Baruch's sudden request to see the Tree of Knowledge. In the response to this request, he hears a story (instead of seeing a vision), which contains the following episodes: (1) On the Garden, where the five different fruit trees were planted by five named

angels; among them, the olive tree was planted by Michael, while the vine was planted by Satanael (only in S); (2) On the Tree of Knowledge that turns out to be the vine planted by Sammael (in G; Satanael in S), and thus is forbidden to Adam, who was divested of the Divine glory for his transgression. (3) On the Flood, which destroyed many giants, entered Paradise, destroyed its flowers and either removed the vine completely (G) or brought a shoot from it outside (S). Noah, after severe hesitation, replanted the vine by God's order. However, he was warned that although "its bitterness shall be changed to sweetness," through excessive drinking major sins still come into the world. Here the account of the Beasts resumes with a question about the dimensions of Serpent's belly, which turns out to be Hades ("insatiable" according to S), and is measured by the distance of a thrown lead.

The angel and Baruch proceed to the east and observe the anthropomorphic figure of the crowned sun riding in its quadriga. It is accompanied by the bird, defined as the "guardian of the world" since it "goes before the sun and, stretching out its wings, receives its fire-shaped rays. For if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature." This bird is gigantic; it is called Phoenix, born in fire, and produces cinnamon. Here Baruch watches the sunrise from the celestial point of view: the 365 gates of heaven open with a great sound as the light is being separated from the darkness, the Bird commands the sun to shine, and the command wakes the roosters on earth.

Baruch wonders about how long the sun can remain motionless and learns that it is a very short period of time "from when the roosters cry until the light comes" (thus in S; in G he asks about its route, but this is probably secondary). Here G repeats the description of the rising sun and the Sun Bird's performances, which at this point is not only heard by Baruch, but is also witnessed by him firsthand.

Baruch then proceeds with the angel to the west to watch the sunset: the crown is taken from the sun's head for the nightly renewal "up to heaven," and the Bird looks exhausted. Baruch learns that the sun's crown is defiled through its rays by human sins, and and he learns that the Bird is exhausted by the sun's radiation.

The moon is located in the same heaven. It is shown to Baruch in the morning, in the likeness of a woman, also moving in its chariot of oxen. Although initially having been created "beautiful," now it waxes and wanes, since it did not hide itself during the transgression of Adam and Eve. G adds that the moon and the "suspended" stars do not dare to shine in the presence of the sun. The sun outshines the stars, and the moon, although "being intact," is exhausted by its heat.

In the next heaven, the "third" heaven (only in G), there is another plain

(G; or "mountain" in S) with a lake inhabited by diverse birds, and especially cranes (or birds similar to cranes in size in S). This is the place "where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir" (only G). The "pure" (only S) birds unceasingly praise God (both G and S). The lake is also a source of the rain and – according to G – the "dew of heaven." They are taken by clouds only from here (S) or also from the sea, while in the latter case only these celestial waters can cause the earth to produce fruit (G).

The angel takes Baruch to the next heaven, identified as the "fifth" heaven (although the "fourth" has not been mentioned), where Baruch faces the closed gate, upon which the names of men are inscribed (S). The gate opens only to admit the commander-in-chief Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom, descending from behind it with a great sound to receive the prayers of men. He holds a cosmically sized bowl, into which the "virtues" (G; from here on S always has "prayers" instead of the "virtues" in G) of men enter in order to be brought in it to God.

A procession of angels brings baskets filled with flowers and casts them into Michael's bowl. The flowers represent human virtues (or "prayers" in S). Then other angels, grieving, bring empty (or half-empty) baskets, the offerings from which "did not fill the bowl." Other angels (either the same "other" or a third group) weep and fear; they ask Michael twice to release them from evil men, whose transgressions they enumerate.

Michael goes behind the gate, which closes after him with a thunder signifying that he brings the virtues of men to God. The gate opens again, and Michael distributes the oil. He puts it into the same baskets (in S "mercy" substitutes for "oil"). This reward is given "to our beloved and those who have diligently done good deeds." Michael sends those who brought full and half-empty baskets to bless their charges.

Angels that have not brought any offerings are not allowed to leave their men but are ordered to "provoke against them No-Nation" (only G) and to send upon them locusts with "hail and lightning and wrath and cut them in twain with the sword and with death and their children with demons."

S adds to this a brief notion, that the guiding angel ordered Baruch to see the resting places of the righteous and the tortures of the impious. Baruch hears the lament of the latter and receives permission to weep on their behalf.

Finally, Baruch "comes to himself" (G), or descends to earth (S) and glorifies God.[33]

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[33] Many of the elements of the above narrative are not found in other Jewish texts. The claim for uniqueness is declared in the prologue to the vision, where Baruch is prom-

If this is the authentic content, it is no wonder that many have considered the book to be a chaotic conglomeration of non-coherent and bizarre fragments. At best this could have been regarded as a dream record, mostly devoid of inner logic and barely integrated into the literary tradition. This would not be typical for what we know about Jewish writings of the period. In other words, it would be highly surprising for a Jewish visionary of the period to see visions out of the context of traditional concepts, and even more so, to organize them in an unfamiliar literary form. I will try to demonstrate that the text, though admittedly laconic and even elliptic, is nonetheless internally coherent, and that many of its seemingly unique, bizarre or non-Jewish motifs are in fact deeply rooted in Jewish tradition. Moreover, the very preterition or paraleipses (deliberate but apparent omission of information) in the text, when they are well corroborated by parallel traditions, may paradoxically be useful – they can indicate which topics were taken as self-evident by the authentic author and his audience.

2. Reconstructed Content[34]

Some of the interpretive cruxes in *3 Baruch* must have arisen as a result of the complicated textual history of the book. Baruch's promise to "neither

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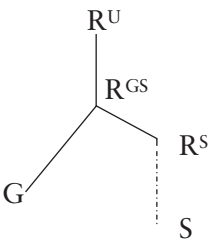
ised to see "great mysteries which no man had seen" (1:6S). Among the unique motifs are the following:
– Builders of the Tower of Babel banished to heaven (2–3)
– The twofold cosmic Serpent-Hades drinking the sea and eating the wicked (4–5G)
– Angels planting Paradise (4:7S)
– The Tree of Knowledge planted by Sammael/Satanael (4:7S; 4:8)
– Flood entering Paradise and destroying its plants (4:10)
– Cinnamon as excrement of worms excreted by the Sun Bird (Phoenix; 6:12)
– Daily separation of the light from the darkness (6:13)
– Moon's collaboration with Sammael in the seduction of the first men (9:7)
– Celestial lake of birds (10:2–7)
– The fifth heaven as the culmination of an ascent (11:1)
– Virtues (or prayers in S) as flowers (12:5)
There is also some unique terminology: "narration and revelation" (διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις) as a title of apocalypse (T:1G); "alien spirit" (ξένη πνοή; 2:1G; found once more in a late Byzantine text); "monster" (ἀπηνής) used as a noun and applied to Hades (4:4G); "Sarasael" (Σαρασαήλ / **Сарасаилъ**) as an angelic name (4:15); "the guardian of the inhabited world" (ὁ φύλαξ τῆς οἰκουμένης / **хранитель въселенѣи**) as an epithet of the Sun Bird (6:3).

[34] This section is based on my article (Kulik, "Veritas").

subtract nor add a word" (1:7S) was not implemented by the editors (and was even itself omitted from a more reworked G).

The book has been preserved in two rescensions, Greek (G) and Slavonic (S). The lost *Vorlage* of S (R^S) differed significantly from the tradition presented by G, which is replete with Christian interpolations, on the one hand, and with omissions of important fragments, on the other. We thus presume that R^S is a better witness for the Greek proto-text underlying both rescensions (R^{GS}). Both rescensions share traces of the same reworking, enabling us to distinguish R^{GS} from an *Urtext* (whether Greek or Semitic) or the earliest reconstructable version of the composition (R^U).



Hence, in addition to the two preserved rescensions, there are three textual layers (R^S, R^{GS}, and R^U), the elements of which can be reconstructed.

2.1. Greek Version (G)

2.1.1. Christian Interpolations

Both G and S show indications of independent Christian reworking. The most blatant are those interpolations which are not shared by both versions. These passages can be categorized as follows:

(A) Passages with obvious Christian terminology (in italics):

- " … and that which is begotten from it [the vine] shall become the *blood of God*; and as the human race obtained condemnation through it, so again through *Jesus Christ the Emmanuel* [and] in him is the receipt of the future invocation, and the entry into Paradise" (4:15G).
- "For we do not see them ever entering into assembly [or "*church*;" Gk ἐκκλησία], either into *spiritual fathers* or into any good thing" (13:4G).

(B) New Testament wording without christological terms (which theoretically could have been shared with other Jewish texts):

– "Prizes" as heavenly rewards (12:1G; cf. 1 Cor 9:24; Phil 3:14; Clement of Rome, *1 Ep. Cor.* 5.6).
– "Bring a hundredfold reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds. For those who have sowed well, reap well" (15:2G; cf. Matt 19:29 and 25:24, 26; Mark 10:30; Luke 15:8; 2 Cor 9:6; although a similar expression appears also in Hagg 1:6).
– "You are faithful over a little, he will set you over many things; enter into the joy of our Lord" (15:4G; cf. Matt 25:21, 23).

(C) Deuteronomic paraphrases (sometimes found also in NT) link the plagues for the sinners with the punishment promised to Israel, and thus identify the two. They are more likely to have been added than omitted in the process of Christian transmission of the text:

– "But since they [the sinners] angered me by their deeds, go and make them envious and angry and provoke against them No-Nation, a nation void of understanding" (16:2G; cf. LXX Deut 31:29; 32:21; cited in Rom 10:19).
– "[The plagues are sent to the sinners,] because they did not listen to my voice, nor observe my commandments, nor do them, but came to be despisers of my commandments and my assemblies, and offenders of the priests who announced my words to them" (16:4G; cf. LXX Deut 28:1; 1 Chr 16:22).

The latter verse mentions also "the priests, who announced my words to them," which would refer to Christian rather than to Jewish priests, and is probably a development of the topic of "spiritual fathers" of 13:4G.

(D) There is also a passage that may reflect Christian historiosophy. The suggestion not to "care so much for the salvation of Jerusalem" (1:3S) is significantly different from the theodical "it came to Jerusalem to accept this" in G.

2.1.2. Biblical Citations and Allusions

In addition to the Deuteronomic paraphrases serving ideological editing, G has more citations and allusions to the Bible (especially to LXX), absent in S:

– "And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but delivered us to such nations, so that they upbraid saying, 'Where is their God?'" (1:2G; cf. Pss 79:10; 115:2; Joel 2:17; Mic 7:10).

– "calamity of wine" (πτώσεως τοῦ οἴνου; 4:17G; cf. "wine of calamity" in LXX Ps 60[59]:5[3]).
– "little by little" (πρὸς μικρὸν μικρόν; 7:3G; cf. LXX Deut 7:22).
– "all breath" (πᾶσα πνοή; 8:7G; cf. LXX Ps 150:6).
– "in order that the Enemy may not prevail for ever" (ὑνα μὴ εἰς τέλος κυριεύσῃ ὁ Ἐχθρός; 13:2G; cf. LXX Ps 73:10).

2.1.3. Explanatory Expansions

Often G functions as if it were an explanatory *targum* for the laconic text of R^{GS} (as it is witnessed by S):

– "And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and impure. And I said, 'Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him?' And the angel said, 'The dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly, and he is nourished by them'" (4:3b–5G). The passage, absent in S, introduces the ideas of the "pairedness" and the "unity in two" of Serpent and Hades; Hades' function as the eater of the wicked; and Hades' darkness and impurity. Although these motifs are ancient and some of them may be deduced from 5:3, they are only made explicit by G.
– "That is why he did not permit Adam to touch it, and that is why the devil being envious deceived him through his vine" (4:8G). S confines itself to mention of the serpent, which is omitted in G and replaced by the expanded explanation. G provides biblical background, never given explicitly in S, and adds widely known motifs of the identification of the serpent of Eden with the devil, and their envy toward man.
– "It [Flood] removed the shoot of the vine completely" (4:10G). In S only one shoot is removed. G probably explains why Baruch does not see the requested Tree.
– "Know therefore, Baruch, that as Adam through this tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the Glory of God, so also now the men drinking insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, make a transgression worse than Adam, and become far from the Glory of God, and commit themselves to the eternal fire. For [no] good comes through it" (4:16G). G verbalizes the connection between the first humans' transgression and contemporary wine abuse, structurally implicit in S. The motif of the garment of Glory was widely known, including Christian traditions.
– "And I said, 'And how is it that it [the moon] does not also shine always, but only at night?' And the angel said, 'Listen, as before a king his household cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine before

the sun. For the stars are suspended, but they are outshined by the sun, and the moon, [although] being intact, is exhausted by the heat of the sun'" (9:8G). G complements the basic lesson on the moon, explaining not only its phases but also the absence of the moon and stars in daytime.

– "Listen, Baruch! The plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir" (10:5). Similarly to 4:3b–5G, the motif of soul-birds, very important and central in this apocalypse, is only implied in the unexplained image of the birds in S.
– "Dew," treated twice in G (6:11G and 10:9G), is totally absent in S. In the first case it complements the information on the drinking habits of the Sun Bird, on which S reports only "what it eats" (as on the other Beasts above we learn as on eating, so also on drinking). In the second, it serves as a reminder that the dew, and not only the rain, is of celestial origin.
– "For unless its wings, *as we said before*, were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would survive" (8:7) – inner explanatory reference to 6:6 absent is S.
– The men's virtues are brought "before the heavenly God" (11:9G; in 14:2G again God is mentioned only in G; cf. 15:2S). This is implicit in 13:5.
– "And the angel told me, "These flowers are the virtues of the righteous" (12:5G). This identification in S may easily be deduced from 11:9 and 12:4.

2.1.4. Other Textual Phenomena

G also shows textual developments which are free from ideological or hermeneutic considerations, like parablepsis in 4:2G or duplication in 7:3–5aG. The latter verse appears to provide a variant of the account of the sun and Phoenix already given in 6:2–5a. The same data, which in ch. 6 is presented in a dramatic form, is presented in ch. 7 as a description of a vision.

2.2. Slavonic Version (S) and Its Greek Vorlage (R^S)

In most cases, it is impossible to distinguish between the development of the rescension before the translation (R^S) or after it (S).

Like G, R^S or its translation might have been subject independently to interpolation of Christian content. There are passages which employ termi-

nology that is likely to be Christian, although *interpertatio judaica* is still possible in some of these cases:

– "For their wives flee to the Temple [or "church" or "assembly;" CS **цр҃ьквь**], and from there they bring them out to jealousy and to fornication and to envy, and they strive to many other things, which you, O Glorious One, know" (13:4S).
– "Be not idle, but prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple [**свѧтыѩ̣ цр҃ькви**]" (15:3S).
– "They do not fear God and they do not come to the Temple [**цр҃ькъвъ**] and to the place of prayers" (16:4S).

In distinction from G there is only one explanatory expansion – the "Slavonic Conclusion" (16:5–10S). This is best viewed as a later addition, as it stands in contrast with the rest of the narrative visuospatially and stylistically, and has an obvious harmonizing and conceptualizing agenda.

2.3. Common Proto-text of G and S (R^{GS})

2.3.1. R^{GS} as Witnessed by G

Some readings witnessed by G were corrupted in S during its transmission:
– "God-made tower" (**стлъпъ бг҃отворьнꙑ**) instead of "Tower of War against God" (**стлъпъ бг҃оборьнꙑ**) (2:7S).
– "And now show me all things for the Lord's sake" (4:1G), omitted due to homoioteleuton in S.
– "187" (**р҃: и и҃: и з҃:**; 4:2S) instead of a hypothetical Glagolitic "185."
– "On an armed chariot" (**на орѫжнѣ колесьници**; 9:3S) instead of "on a wheeled chariot" (**на орѫжии колесьномь**; as ἐπὶ ἅρματος τροχοῦ in G).

Some readings were mistranslated in S:
– "With blindness" (3:8) mistranslated as "invisibly" by S.
– "Angels [who are] over the principalities [ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν]" (12:3G) mistranslated in S as "the angels who are in the power [**въ области**] of men."

Explanatory readings:
– "Oil" (15:1G) substituted by homeophonic "mercy" in S.

Harmonized readings:
– "Virtues" (11:9G; 14:2G) and "good deed" (15:2G) interchanging with "prayers" (11:4G), are consistently unified to "prayers" in S.

Some passages in G, absent in S, but well integrated into early Jewish literature, might be original:

– "And where there was a river which no one can cross, nor any alien spirit of all those that God created" (2:1G); this may either be original or interpolated due to influence of late Christian apocalypses.
– "As if [borne] on wings" (2:2G).
– "Baskets" (12:1G) substituted by neutral "offerings" in S.

2.3.2. R^{GS} as Witnessed by S

Readings corrupted in G:
– "Fiery horses" (**кони пламѣни**; * ἵππων πυρός; 6:2S) instead of "with a fire underneath" (ὃ ἦν ὑπόπυρον; both manuscripts have ο ην υποπυρος) of G.
– "'How much [or "how" ποῦ] does the sun rest [ἀποσχολάζει]?' {And the angel told me,} 'From when the roosters cry out until the light comes'" (7:1S; as a dialogue without am intermediate remark) misinterpreted as one replique "And where [ποῦ] does the sun begin its labors [ἀποσχολεῖται] after the rooster cries?" in G.

Harmonized readings:
– S has "chamber" (3:3S) and "mountain" (10:2, 4S) instead of the unified "plain" in all the cases in G.

Some passages in S, absent in G, but well integrated into early Jewish literature, might be original. Among them entire fragments:
– the account on planting the Garden (4:7S) omitted in G due to homoeoarchon
– 6:14b omitted by G due to homoeoteleuton

There are also shorter passages which could be original:
– "You will neither add nor omit [anything] … I will neither subtract nor add a word" (1:6–7S).
– "He showed me means of safety [σωτηρία]" (2:2S) retroverted from "he showed me salvation [**съпасениѥ**]."
– "As [the distance] from east to west" (2:5S).
– "Pure birds" (10:5S).
– "And he showed me large gates, and names of men were written [on them]" (11:2S).

Some readings of R^{GS} difficult or incomprehensible to later Christian scribes, were replaced by more neutral readings in G:
– "Be silent" (1:3S), an order with ambiguous message replaced with "understand" in G.
– "Great mysteries" (1:6S), the term, well attested in apocalyptic parallels, was replaced by "mysteries" in G.
– "… stirring [the clay for bricks]" (3:5S), paralleled in an aggadic account, replaced with "making bricks" in G.

Some mss of S present angels' names in Semitic (rather than Slavic or even Greek) rather than Slavic or even Greek) forms. Thus S has "Panuel" (**паноуилъ** in T:1S; cf. Phanuel **фаноуилъ** in 2:5), going back to Gk *Πανουηλ; Heb פנואל, instead of Phamael (Φαμαηλ; 2:5) in G. In 4:7S mss S and Z have Sarazael (**сараѕаиль**; Gk *Σαρ Ραζαιλ; Heb *שר רזאל) and Rasael (**расаилъ**; Gk * Ρασαιλ); cf. on Sarasael in both versions in 4:15 below).

There are three features of Serpent-Hades found in S but absent from G that are paralleled in the Bible – Serpent "eats earth like grass" (4:3S); God "kindled its heart" (4:7S); "Hades is insatiable" (5:3S). They could either be original or have been interpolated at any stage. Similarly, it is difficult to assess priority in 10:9 where S, holding to the ancient tradition, states that all rains originate from the celestial storage place, whereas G exhibits compromises with Hellenistic science.

The lists above show that although both rescensions were independently reworked, G has introduced more changes. These modifications reflect (1) ideological editing (Christianization); (2) intertextual sophistication which integrated authoritative textual traditions into the laconic report (by means of citations and allusions from the Bible and NT); and especially (3) explanatory (targumic) expansions. By contrast, S exhibits fewer signs of deliberate editorial activity. Although S contains certain distortions, mainly textual corruptions and mistranslations, it shows that R^S has been less reworked than G and is thus a better witness for R^{GS}.

2.4. Urtext (R^U)

Certain characteristics shared by both G and S, and thus belonging to R^{GS}, could nevertheless reflect editorial elaborations different from R^U. Among the most significant are:

– Duplication of the account of the Builders: sections 2:2–3, 7a and 3:1–5a as two variants of the same account (cf. duplication in 7:3–5G).
– The numbering of the heavens (2:2; 3:1; 7:2; 10:1; 11:1), inconsistent in both versions, must have been absent in R^U.

These two reworkings belong to the same editorial process. Fortunately, it was not consistent. The duplication hypothesis, which reduced one heaven from the total calculation, concords with the rudiments of the original numbering of heavens preserved in 7:2S and 10:1G. At the same time, the suggestion of the editorial origin of the numbering of the heavens helps to harmonize other indications of the intercelestial transfers – two or three

celestial journeys (2:2; [3:1;] 4:2) and two or three gates (three before the last in S and totally three in G; 2:2; [3:1;] 4:2; 11:2) – with the three heavens scheme (instead of five heavens of the extant text). Both the original scheme and its reworking to the models with additional multiple heavens, are well attested (for the detailed discussion see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

– The original model of two groups of angels representing two classes of men was supplemented with the intermediate group by a very delicate emendation. R^{GU} reads Gk ἀποκένους (15:3G) as "half empty" instead of "empty." This interpretation is reflected in both the corresponding verse of S (only in family α) and in the next verse of G (15:4G, obviously Christian). In light of this reading, the word "other" in 13:1 may be interpreted as referring to the third group, and not to the second which is also defined as "other" in 12:6 (see introductory comm. to 12:6–13:5). Such reworking of a twofold model of human classes into a threefold scheme may be suggested also in the versions of *Apocalypse of Adam* (see introductory comm. to 12:6–13:5).
– An interesting evidence on R^{U} is preserved in the unique name of the angel who communicates with Noah – "Sarasael" (Σαρασαήλ / **Сарасаиль**; 4:15). It must go back to *scripto continua* σαρρασαήλ – *שר רזאל "Prince Rasael/Rasiel," well known as Noah's interlocutor in Hekhalot literature.

The accounts of the celestial dimensions (2:4–6) and the vine (4:8–17G; 4:6–17S) – these intrude into the coherent narratives of the Builders (chs. 2–3) and of the Beasts (chs. 4–5) respectively – are to be regarded more as excursus than as interpolations. The excursus on the celestial dimensions could be misplaced (rather than interpolated) during the course of the compilation of two variants of the Builders story. The vine account, however, although intervening into the description of the Beasts, is thematically connected to it and to other sections of the apocalypse.

There also are no strong arguments in favor of the suggestion that R^{U} could have had a longer text that included an ascent to higher heavens (see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology: Seven heavens and abridged version*).

3. Implied Content

Even in comparison to other compositions of the same genre, *3 Baruch* strikes the modern reader as an extremely elliptic and fragmented narrative, and thus an enigmatic one. We may infer that the author(s) expected the tar-

get audience to be well-versed in the ancient lore that was requisite for filling the gaps between seemingly disconnected images. Relying on the knowledge base of the intended readers, the authors were free to concentrate on the visual and symbolic "highlights" of the revelation, leaving many implied connections unmentioned. In many cases, *3 Baruch* confines itself to apocalyptic *ekphrasis*, a description of the objects seen by the visionary which neither explains the meaning of each image nor makes clear the connections between them. This way of communication is characteristic of intentionally vague symbolic accounts that broaden the interpretation field and require on the part of the recipient a more active participation in building the narrative. This approach was only partly compensated for by a late version preserved in G, which gives explanations and expansions of the more laconic proto-text better reflected in S. The characteristics and possible reasons for applying such a form of expression are treated in *Method* below.

I have attempted to reconstruct these implied data on the basis of intertextual analysis. The overwhelming majority of reconstructions of the implied content below are introduced here for the first time. The sources and argumentation for the reconstructions may be found in the commentaries to relevant chapters. The summary of the account of *3 Baruch* as it was given in the section *Extant Account* above appears below in italics, while the reconstructed data complementing it are given in ordinary font:

Weeping at the gates of the destroyed Temple, Baruch seeks a theodicy of the Fall. In response, an angel sent to him by God promises to show him the "great mysteries." The angel takes him to "where heaven was set," and to the river, i.e., to the "ends of earth," where the River Oceanus surrounding the flat earth meets the "ends" of the hemispheric heaven. *It cannot be crossed by any "alien breath,"* since the boarder between the two worlds cannot be crossed by terrestial demonic "alien spirits."

Having arrived to the entrance to *the "first heaven"* (the numbers of heaven hereafter must be interpolated), *they enter the very large door,* which is a celestial opening located on the line where earth and heaven meet, *and after a month-length journey* through the "door," which is a tunnel-gate through the "thickness of heaven" measured below, they *find a plain inhabited by strangely shaped creatures* described as satyrs and cynocephali. These must be the demonic forces of the lower heaven. Identified below as the chief builders of the Tower of Babel, they could be the fallen angels' gargantuan progeny, most of whom perished in the Flood (as below), but some of whom survived either physically or as demonic spirits.

Baruch's first question is about "the thickness of heaven in which we journeyed," i.e., through which they passed inside the tunnel-gate. *He learns that it is equal to the height of the sky and the width of heaven (thus G; S equates it to the width of earth, while the width of heaven is as the height of the sky).*

The angel takes Baruch to the "second heaven," where they find almost the same creatures, only dog-faced, who are also identified as the builders of the Tower of Babel. It is a duplication of the previous account (thus the number of the heaven has to be ignored). *Then Baruch learns how they afflicted a woman in the throes of childbirth* (demons are especially dangerous for women giving birth and to newborns), *how they wanted to bore through the heaven, in order to study its composition* (a reference to a motif of Tower accounts pertaining to fighting or transfixing heaven with "sharp things") and possibly to reach celestial water supply treated below; *moreover, he learns how they were punished with blindness* (as blind archons and Sammael as "the god of the blind"), *and confusion of languages.*

After futher long journey through another long gate to the second heaven, *Baruch sees another plain with the Serpent and Hades "around him" (in G; below the latter is also identified as a belly of the former).* This is a chthonic dyad or a twofold monster intertwined as Leviathan and Behemoth or as snakes of caduceus. It shares many features with diverse cosmic, celestial, and sea serpents, on the one hand, and with the celestial or cosmic, sometimes also serpentine, Hell, on the other. The two Beasts must be part of a triad together with the Sun Bird appearing below, in correspondence with the Rabbinic triad of Leviathan, Behemoth, and Ziz. *Baruch learns about the eating and drinking habits of the monster: "the dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly" (G*, since the dead can enter Hell in body and be physically annihilated there; *in S it eats earth instead,* as the cursed serpent of Eden*) and drinks every day a regular portion of water from the sea, which still does nor sink, being filled with rivers, a list of which is given.* The function is vital for preventing a new flood, since the terrestial hydrosystem is not cyclic, being completed with celestial waters (as we learn below). This is also among the central functions of the Rabbinic Leviathan and Behemoth. By eating, the Beasts help to get rid of the sinners; by drinking, they help get rid of superfluous water.

The vision of Serpent-Hades is interrupted with Baruch's sudden request to see the Tree of Knowledge. The request about the Tree of Knowledge, the origin of sin, follows the description of the final destination of the sinners. There are more links between the Beasts and the subsequent account: serpents are known to guard cosmic trees; serpents are connected specifically to the vine and wine; the serpent of Eden and the celestial serpent may be

identified; although the eschatological banquet is not mentioned the Beasts and the "fruit of vine" are both its basic elements. *In the response to this request, he hears a story (instead of seeing a vision), which contains the following episodes:* (1) *On the Garden, where the five different fruit trees were planted by five named angels* (according to the number of the trees of Paradise known to Gnostics and Philo's "Paradise of virtues;" cf. also four basic virtues and the number of trees without Satanael's vine)*; among them the olive tree was planted by Michael, while the vine was planted by Satanael (only in S)*. This must be "Paradise of virtues," the flowers of which, i.e., the virtues, appear below in the scenes of the angelic offering and retribution, along with the oil from the celestial olive. (2) *On the Tree of Knowledge that turns out to be the vine planted by Sammael (in G; Satanael in S), and thus is forbidden to Adam, who was divested of the Divine glory for his transgression.* (3) *On the Flood, which destroyed many giants*, while the surviving giants initiated the construction of the Tower of Babel (above). *It also entered Paradise, destroyed its flowers* ("virtues"?) *and either removed the vine completely* (G; which explains thus, why Baruch is not shown the Tree) *or brought a shoot from it outside* (S). *Noah, after severe hesitation, replanted the vine by the God's order. However, he was warned that although "its bitterness shall be changed to sweetness," through excessive drinking, major sins still come into the world*, reflecting the dual valence of wine throughout ancient Jewish literature, associated with both sacral use and profane abuse. *Here the account of the Beasts resumes with a question on the dimensions of Serpent's belly, which turns out to be Hades ("insatiable" according to S), and is measured by the distance of a thrown lead.*

The angel and Baruch proceed to the east and observe the anthropomorphic figure of the crowned sun riding in its quadriga, a well known Greco-Roman image, probably also found in earlier Near Eastern contexts, and well attested in Jewish iconography. *It is accompanied by the bird, defined as the "guardian of the world," since it "goes before the sun, and stretching out its wings receives its fire-shaped rays. For if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature."* The bird functions exactly as Ziz of the Rabbinic tradition (and protective cosmic birds of Near Eastern iconography or other means that moderate the sun's heat known to Jewish lore), which is the third element of the triad of gigantic archetypical beasts together with Leviathan and Behemoth (corresponding to Serpent and Hades above). *This bird is gigantic,* similarly to Ziz and differently from the Greek phoenix; *it is called Phoenix and is born in fire and produces cinnamon* as the Greek phoenix – these are the only features of the Greek phoenix, probably not original in the text.

Here Baruch watches the sunrise from the celestial point of view: the 365 gates located on the circle of the horizon on the rotating sphere *of heaven open with a great sound. The* primordial *light is being separated from the darkness,* on a daily basis, probably presuming creatio aeterna. *The Bird commands the sun to shine. The command*, although inaudible to humans, *wakes the roosters on earth*, before the sunrise.

Baruch wonders about how long the sun can remain motionless *and learns that it is a very short period of time "from when the roosters cry until the light comes" (thus in S; in G he asks about its route, but this is probably secondary)*, in contrast to the belief in a more prolonged rest of the sun, which at any case moves also at night either beneath the earth, or above the lower firmament. *Here G repeats the description of the rising sun and the Sun Bird's performances, which at this point is not only heard by Baruch, but is also witnessed by him firsthand* (most probably a duplication).

Baruch then proceeds with the angel to the west to watch the sunset: the crown is taken from the sun's head for the nightly renewal "up to heaven," probably to be purified in the "lake," a baptismal basin of celestial waters in the next heaven (see below); *and the Bird looks exhausted. Baruch learns that the sun's crown is defiled through its rays by human sins, and he learns that the Bird is exhausted by the sun's radiation.*

The moon is located in the same heaven, in contrast to Hellenistic views. *It is shown in the morning,* probably during its daytime motion, hidden from sight above the visible sky, *in the likeness of a woman,* as Selene and Luna distinct from the male Helios, Sol, and Phoebus, *also moving in its chariot of oxen*, in *biga* (of 20 in S) of oxen and not in quadriga of horses as the sun, according to Hellenistic imagery. *Although initially having been created "beautiful"* as the sun, *now it waxes and wanes, since it did not hide itself during the first transgression of Adam and Eve*, as luminaries are supposed to do when they witness a cosmic tragedy. *G adds that the moon and the "suspended" stars* fixed to the rotating sphere as distinct from the wandering planets, *do not dare to shine in presence of the sun. The sun outshines the stars, and the moon, although "being intact," is exhausted by its heat*, as Israel whose symbol it is, is injured but survives in the destruction of the Temple.

In the next heaven, the"third" heaven (only in G; here the number may reflect the original order of ascent; according to S, Baruch is still in the same heaven*)* in the pure sphere beyond the moon separated from the sublunary impure heavens by the intermediate region of the luminaries, *there is another plain (G; or "mountain" S) with a lake inhabited by diverse birds, and especially cranes (or birds similar to cranes in size in S). This is the place "where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together*

choir by choir" (only G). *The "pure" (only S) birds unceasingly praise God (both G and S).* These ornithomorphic souls of the pious are similar to Egyptian *ba* and analogous images in Jewish belief; they remain on the lake on their way to their permanent resting places. Here they are baptized in the lake, which like the lake of Acherousia, is a purification and probably transformation basin, and await an anointing of eternal life that will be given to their angels in the next heaven (see below).

The angel then takes Baruch to the entrance to the *"fifth" heaven (although the "fourth"hais not been mentioned* – probably interpolated as a result of the duplication of the account of the Builders*). Baruch faces the closed gate, upon which the names of men are inscribed (S)*, who, in contrast to Baruch, are allowed to enter it (either alive or dead). This must be the inaccessible supercelestial heaven above the three or two heavens visited by Baruch. *The gate opens only to admit the commander-in-chief Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom,* and the angelic high priest, *descending from behind it with a great sound to receive the prayers of men.* This must be the well known "gate of prayer," behind which is the sacral realm accessible only to the high priest Michael. *He holds a cosmically sized bowl, in which the "virtues" (G; from hereon S always has "prayers" instead of "virtues" in G) of men enter in order to be brought in it to God.* They could literally "enter," since "Virtues" (depicted as flowers below) was known also as an angelic title.

A procession of angels brings baskets filled with flowers, as Greek kanephoroi or as Jewish processions with first-fruits carried in baskets decorated with plants or as the wreaths of human prayers woven by angels and put on God's head, *and cast them into Michael's bowl* (a procedure with many liturgic connotations). *The flowers represent human virtues*, probably connected to the "Paradise of virtues" planted also by angels above (or "prayers" in S).

Then other angels, grieving, bring empty (or *half-empty*) *baskets, the offerings from which "did not fill the bowl." Other angels (either the same "other" or a third group) weep and fear,* since the angels may be punished for the sins of their charges*; they ask Michael twice to dismiss them from evil men, whose transgressions they enumerate.*

Michael, as a high priest on the Day of Atonement, all alone and leaving other angels outside, *goes behind the gate, which closes after him with a thunder, signifying that he brings the virtues of men to God. The gate opens again, and Michael distributes the oil* of life from the celestial olive, the Tree of Life, that he himself planted (above). The oil must serve for an anointing of the eternal life and a protective chrismatic "seal." The wicked who are deprived of it are attacked by the demonic locusts (below) and destitute

of eternal life; they are annihilated, "eaten," by Hades (above). *He puts the ointment into the same baskets*, which means that they are not wreathed but rather cultic basket-shaped vessels called "baskets," well attested in Jewish and pagan liturgic practices. *In S* the word *"mercy" substitutes for "oil,"* (these are homeophonic in Greek), as in the "Fast of Mercy," an expression used to denote the Day of Atonement. *This reward is given "to our beloved and those who have diligently done good deeds,"* which may refer to two different groups, Israelites and righteous gentiles.

Michael sends those who brought full and half-empty baskets to bless their charges. This is an interpolation intended to replace a twofold division of mankind to the righteous and the wicked by a threefold one, including a middle group.

Angels that have not brought any offerings are not allowed to leave their men but are ordered to "provoke them against No-Nation" (only G; probably an interpolation intended to identify the sinners with Jews*) and to send upon them* demonic *locusts with "hail and lightning and wrath and cut them in twain with the sword and with death and their children with demons*," while the righteous are defended from the plague by the "seal" of anointing.

S *adds to this a brief notion,* probably interpolated, *that the guiding angel ordered Baruch to see the resting places of the righteous and the tortures of the impious. Baruch hears the lament of the latter and receives permission to weep on their behalf*, in contrast to the order to cease his bewailing of Jerusalem before the vision (above).

Finally Baruch "comes to himself" (G), which means that this was a spiritual experience and not a bodily ascent, *or descends to earth (S) and glorifies God.*

VIII. Message*

1. Consolation

3 Baruch presents a celestial tour given in response to the destruction of the Temple. This raises the question of the connection between the two. On the one hand, the revelatory angel seems to dissociate the two topics in his initial words (1:3), either distracting Baruch from the theodicy of the destruction (thus probably Christianized G), or briefly explaining it as a just punishment (as in S). In any case, the issue is not raised again, nor is there any promise of restoration.[35]

However, some kind of consolation must be implied. It may be simply a recognition of the magnificence of creation (as in Job). Possibly, Baruch should not "care so much" for Jerusalem (as in G), since despite the cessation of the terrestial worship, the heavenly liturgy continues to be performed (as shown in 12–14) and the gate of prayer still opens in due time (11:4–5). Certain consolation may also be found in the fact that "it came to Jerusalem to accept this" (as in 1:3S) – the punishment only demonstrates the proper functioning of the celestial judgment, a mechanism of retribution with punitive elements (shown in ch. 16).[36]

2. Retribution and Afterlife

At first glance, *3 Baruch* seems to be preoccupied with cosmology. Charles Torrey even maintained that "the religious element, usually so prominent in this literature, is almost wholly wanting" from this apoca-

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[35] For the attempts to read the vision as "an indirect, yet sustained and coherent response to the problem of Jerusalem's fate" (Harlow, *Baruch*, 109), see Picard "Observationes," 92–98; idem, "Autre mystères," 23–35; Harlow, *Baruch*, 29–31; 109–163; cf. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 302–303; Collins, "Genre Apocalypse," 538–40.

[36] The topic of wine, so central in *3 Baruch*, is connected to consolation in the following saying of R. Hanina: "Wine was created for the sole purpose of comforting mourners and rewarding the wicked, for it is said, 'Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto the bitter in soul' [Prov 31: 6]" (*b. Erub.* 65a).

* The following two sections are based on my article (Kulik, "Apocalyptic").

lypse.[37] However, Martha Himmelfarb has noticed that the central concern of *3 Baruch* must be reward and punishment brought into relation with the created world.[38] Developing this proposal, we suggest that, although more space is allotted to observations of physical aspects of the functioning of the world, the composition of the vision indicates its focus on retribution and its central element, the afterlife:

Structure	*Dominant Topics*
Builders	Abode of Demons
Scientific Excursus: Dimensions of Heaven	
Serpent-Hades	Abode of Wicked Souls
Scientific Excurses:	
Cosmic Hydrosystem I	
Tree of Knowledge	
Sun and Moon	
Lake of Birds	Temporary Abode of Just Souls
Scientific Excursus: Cosmic Hydrosystem II	
Gate to the Kingdom of Heaven	Gate to the Permanent Abode of the Just Souls
Angelic Service	Retribution Mechanism

The chart reflects a reading according to which post-mortem retribution, although scarcely mentioned explicitly, is a structurally dominant topic. This is the main agenda of this apocalypse: implicit in S and only partly explicated in G, it is obvious from the structure of the narrative. In this case, *3 Baruch* is to be read as follows: (1) The visionary proceeds through the lower heaven, with the abode of demons in it, first to the heaven of the final destination of the wicked (Hades; 4–5), (2) then to the heaven where the transition station of the pious souls is located (lake of birds; 10), (3) and finally he arrives to the gates of the Kingdom of Heaven, their destined permanent abode, where, due to being alive, he is not admitted (11). (4) There, at the completion of the ascent, he observes the mechanism of such selection to the seen abodes. All other materials are excurses that provide information about additional contents of the heavens, where the stations of the soul's ascent are found. At the first heaven the dimensions of the firmament are given. At the heaven of Hades, information is provided about the celestial water collector and luminaries, and at the heaven of the righteous, we are told about the celestial water supply.

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[37] Torrey, "Apocalypse," 674.
[38] Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 91.

The designation that defines Baruch's vision, "mysteries of God" (1:4S; 1:8G), which may refer to diverse phenomena, is specifically applied in Wis 2:22 to the mechanism of retribution: "As for the mysteries of God, they knew them not, neither did they hope for a recompense of holiness nor discern the innocent souls' reward."

This interpretation will relate *3 Baruch* to many Jewish (and non-Jewish) compositions which are concerned primarily with the fate of the dead and which contain tours of the world of the dead. Thus, also the tour of Baruch may be *nekyia*, though relocated to heaven (which is also not unique: all categories of the dead are located in heaven in *1 Enoch*; *2 Enoch*; and Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*).

3. Cosmology

3.1. *Cosmographic escapism*. Even if one accepts the above interpretation, suggesting that there is an implicit agenda behind the cosmological descriptions of *3 Baruch*, "scientific" interest in the physical aspects of the way the world functions remains very relevant for this composition. While other, theophanic, apocalypses are focused on *Ma'aseh Merkaba*, and are concerned with theosophy as well as with eschatology, *3 Baruch* confines itself to *Ma'aseh Bereshit*, that is, to cosmogony and cosmology. This kind of wisdom, although restricted to chosen ones, is less protected: "*Ma'aseh Bereshit* must not be explained before two, nor *Ma'aseh Merkabah* before one, unless he be wise and understands it by himself" (*m. Hag.* 2.1).

The consolation for the destruction of the Temple and for the injustices of this world, which was quite commonly sought in theophany or in heavenly retribution and especially afterlife, is somehow quantitatively overshadowed in *3 Baruch* by another kind of consolation – the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity regarding cosmological issues. "Abraham" says that he can depart from life without sorrow after he has seen "all of the inhabited world and all the creations" (*T. Abr.* (A) 9:6). This curiosity might also have an escapist dimension: "My heart is not fixed on earthly things, since the earth and all that inhabit it are unstable. But my heart holds fast to the heaven, because there is no trouble in heaven" (*T. Job* 36:3 [8:9]).

3.2. *Pious curiosity.* However, beyond consolatory escapism there were other factors behind the introduction of cosmology. Cosmological knowledge was an integral part of religious experience in the ancient world, so that the boundaries between cosmography and theology are not always clear: *religio … est iuncta cum cognitione naturae* "religion … is joined with

a knowledge of nature" (Cicero, *Div.* 72 [149]). The cosmological knowledge could even bring about moral perfection: "Blessed is he who has acquired knowledge … he is not inclined to unjust action. He beholds the ageless cosmos of the immortal nature, how it has been formed, in what way and manner. The urge to shameful deeds never dwells with such people" (Euripides, Fr. 910). What in the pagan world was a religious concern for the life of gods, often identified with hierophanic nature, had to find alternative justifications for a Jewish explorer. A Jewish approach to the observation of nature was more ambiguous: on the one hand, "Lest you raise your eyes heavenward and observe the sun, the moon and the stars, and you are enticed to bow to them and serve them" (Deut 4:19), and on the other, "When I see your heavens, the work of your fingers, I am inspired to realize my insignificance in relationship to God, who is overwhelming" (Ps 8:4). The applied knowledge, like astrology, as an investigation of a connection between celestial bodies and human destiny on earth, equivocally treated but known to Jews (4Q186; 4Q318; 4Q561; *b. Shab.* 156a-b), does not seem to interest our visionary: this discipline is preoccupied with the future, while *3 Baruch* does not refer to it at all. The computation of time and calendar issues is also not represented here (except the fact of knowledge about the length of the solar year; 6:13). However, even non-applied scientific knowledge was not strange to the ancient Jewish intellectual. Astronomy and other phenomena of nature are treated in Job 28–40 and in apocalyptic works, which also address the ends of the earth, celestial openings, the expanse of heaven, sources of rivers, springs and abysses of the sea, origin of light, motion of luminaries, etc. (e.g., *1 En.* 17–19; 60:11–12; 72–87; cf. also *2 Enoch*; *Apocalypse of Abraham; 2 Baruch*; *4 Ezra*). God is recognizable through his creation (Wis 13:1) or in even more intimate manner through his habitation: "You will s[i]t upon (the) mountain of h(o)ly [S]inaios; … [you] who sit upon the s[e]a, … you who sit [upon] the s[er]pent gods, the [God who s]i[ts upon the s]un …" (*Pr. Jac.* 8). Wisdom, including "the accurate knowledge of all things that are, the structure of the world and the working of the elements, the beginning and the end and the midpoint of times, the changes in the sun's course and the variations of the seasons, cycles of years, positions of the stars, natures of animals, tempers of beasts, powers of the spirits and thoughts of men, uses of plants and virtues of roots," leads to righteousness (Wis 7:18–20). Interest in the movements of celestial bodies was considered pious by the Rabbis (*b. Shab.* 75a), and the high evaluation of mathematic and astronomical knowledge as "the aftercourses of wisdom" is found in *m. Ab.* 3.18; *b. Hor.* 10a; and *b. Suk.* 28a. Many Rabbinic discussions of astronomic and meteorological problems, including those raised in *3 Baruch*, are adduced in the commentary below.

IX. Method

Questions about the content and message of the writing cannot be detached from the interconnected problems of *Sitz im Leben*, creative method, and form of presentation.

We cannot say much about the *Sitz im Leben* of *3 Baruch*, nor of its creation or function. As for creation, it is difficult to determine whether any given apocalyptic text reflects an actual mystical experience or is a simulating literary invention. Moreover, hypothetical connections to mysterial rites remain unclear, since we do not know enough about these cryptic practices. As for functioning and target audience, these writings could either be esoteric or addressed to a lay audience (cf. one of the interpretations of "be silent" in 1:3S versus "Bring Baruch down to the face of earth, so that he will tell the sons of men what he saw and heard, and all the mysteries you gave him" in 16:1S).

The creative method and presentation of the work can be more effectively traced. The apocalyptic content of 3 *Baruch* must be a combination of

(1) traditional knowledge of three types:
  (1.1) mythology transmitted in Jewish and general lore;[39]
  (1.2) exegesis of authoritive texts;
  (1.3) apocalyptic tradition;
(2) ecstatic experience (either that of the immediate author of the writing or transmitted as an esoteric tradition);
(3) speculative thought rationalizing and organizing the former two into more or less coherent and systematic entity.
(4) As for presentation, the resulting report is given in deliberately enigmatic mode, which could have been conditioned by its ecstatic origin, esoteric function, mythological imagery, implicit intertextual references, and genre conventions.

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[39] Hellenisitic lore can hardly be discerned sometimes from Hellenistic speculative science. The influence of the latter is obvious only in 10:9G.

1. Inherited Wisdom

1.1. *Mythology.* Mythological imagery shared by many peoples of the Mediterranean and the Near East dominates this composition. The description of the ends of the earth (2:1–2), etiology of demons (derivable from 2–3 and known not only from *1 Enoch* 6–16 and *Jubilees* 5–10, but also from Hesiod and Plato), cosmic beasts, sea and celestial serpents (4–5), anthropomorphic luminaries and their chariots (6–8; very popular in Greco-Roman world), soul-birds (*ba* of Egyptian mythology), and post-mortem purification lake (known to Egyptians and Plato) all have clear parallels in universal mythological beliefs, while only some of them may be traced in specifically Jewish sources, including the Bible and apocalyptic tradition (like the dyad of Leviathan and Behemoth).

1.2. *Hidden exegesis.* As shown above (*Reconstructed Content*), most passages with direct citations, paraphrases, and allusions to the biblical texts in *3 Baruch* also contain indications of editorial reworking. The original layers of the text, common for both versions, refer only to three pre-Abrahamic accounts in their aggadic expansions (Adam and Noah in their connection to the Tree of Knowledge and the Tower of Babel in connection to celestial demonology). The Watchers account expected in this context is not entirely ignored but found implicitly in the demonological etiology of their progeny, the demonic Giants-Builders.

At first glance, the rest of the revelatory narrative, which is rich in mythopoeic images deeply rooted not only in Jewish but also in universal lore, looks free of the bounds of authoritive textual tradition. However, it is still possible that many of the mythopoeic motifs here are in fact linked to biblical texts by well known midrashic techniques.

Sometimes entire accounts in *3 Baruch* can be structured according to biblical models. The idea of a cosmic journey as presented in Ps 139(138):8–10 conforms perfectly to the order of visions in *3 Bar.* 3–8:

Ascent to heaven (2)	If I go up to heavens, you are there;
Hades (3–5)	if I descend to Sheol, here are you.
Sunrise and Phoenix (6)	If I take wings with the dawn,
Sun's route (7) and the sunset (8)	to come rest on the western horizon,
Angelic guidance	even there your hand will guide me, and your right hand will hold me.

One may also compare the sunrise as described in *3 Bar.* 6:13–16 with Eccl 12:4:

> And the doors to the streets will be shut,
> when the sound of the grinding becomes low,
> and it will rise at the voice of the bird,
> and all the daughters of singing will bow down.

It could be read in the following way: the celestial gate is closed behind the sun, the sound of the rotating solar wheel comes down,[40] the sun rises at the voice of the Sun Bird, and the earthly birds greet it.

The following are some more motifs juxtaposed to the biblical passages that could have served as their implicit prooftexts:

Serpent in the envoys to the Tree (3–5) and the universal image of the serpent guarding the Garden (cf. "the fence of Paradise," in Sataniel's account in mss LT *3 Bar.* 4:7S)	"who breaches a fence, will be bitten by a serpent" (Eccl 10:8)
"Serpent on a mountain of a rock" (4:3S; cf. *PRU* 2.3.8–10; = *UT* 1003.3–10; *1 En.* 60:8)	"*Behemoth* on a thousand mountains" (Ps 50:10); "a serpent on a rock" (Prov 30:19)
Five angels of Presence (4:7S)	"five men of them that saw the king's face [מראי פני המלך]" (2 Kgs 25:19)
Planting the celestial Garden (4:7S)	"planting the skies [Heb לנטע שמים]" (Isa 51:16)
Daily purification of the sun (8:4)	"and the sun set and he/it is purified [בא השמש וטהר]" (Lev 22:7)
Mountain of the bird-souls' (10:2S)	"How will you say to my soul, 'Take to the mountain, O bird!'" (Ps 11:1); cf. "all birds of mountains" (Ps 50:11)
Lake of the bird-souls (10:2)	"With you is the fountain of life" (Ps 36:10)
Oil reward (probably from the product of the celestial Olive, the Tree of Life; 15:1–2G; 4:7S)	"The fruit of the righteous is the Tree of Life" (Prov 11:30)

[40] The sun is known to make an extraordinary noise while grating against its wheel: "You may think that it glides in heaven, but it is not so, being rather like a saw which saws through wood" (*Gen. Rab.* 6.7 and many parallels).

Sometimes the link to the biblical text is even corroborated in midrashic tradition:

"as [the distance] from east to west, so great is the thickness of heaven, as the distance from earth to heaven, so great is its width – the plain where we are standing" (2:5S)	"What distance is longer, from heaven to earth or from east to west? Some said, "From east to west, because when the sun is at east or west, everyone can look at it, while when it is in the middle of the firmament, one cannot." But the Sages said, "Both dimensions are equal, because it is said, 'As heavens are high above earth,' etc. 'As east is far from west'" [כרחק מזרח ממערב; Pss 103:11 and 12]" (*b. Tamid* 32a)
Builders planning to transfix heaven with a bore (3:7; cf. other accounts associate the building of the Tower with sharp tools: *Gen. Rab*. 38.7; *Tan. B*. Noah 27; *Sefer HaYashar* 9.29; cf. *b. Git*. 56a).	"one speech [דברים אחדים]" (Gen 11:1) of the Deluge generation interpreted as "sharp things [דברים חדים]" (cf. *Gen. Rab*. 38.7, where דברים דברים[א]חדים is interpreted as "sharp words")
"Adam … was divested of the Glory of God" (4:16G; cf. *Apoc. Mos*. 20:2; 21:5–6; cf. *Gen. Rab*. 19.6; *Tgs*. Gen 3:21; *Pesiq. R*. 37.2; *Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 6.5; *Pirqe R. El.* 14; etc.)	First humans' "garments of skin [כתנות עור]" (Gen 3:21) interpreted as "garments of light [אור] כתנות ;" Ezek 28:13; *Gen. Rab*. 20.12; *Pirqe R. El.* 14.20; *Abot R. Nat*. B)
Sun Bird sheltering the world is called "the protector of the inhabited world" (6:3)	"R. Yohanan said, 'He [God] is also a protector of the whole world [Heb מגין על כל העולם כולו], as it is written, 'with the shadow of my hand have I sheltered you' [Isa 51:16]'" (*b. Sanh*. 99b)

1.3. Apocalyptic Tradition

We do not know to what extent the author of *3 Baruch* distinguished between canonical biblical texts and popular apocalyptic writings outside the canon. *3 Baruch* presents a unique fusion of traditions, and in many cases it is difficult to distinguish real textual influences from coincidence of single words or images taken out of their contexts. As already noted, most parallels to Jewish works from the same genre or period attest to common traditions rather than direct influences. Among the compositions that could have been in some sort of mutual dependence with *3 Baruch* is the *Apocalypse of Paul* with its incomplete ascent, cosmological depictions of the conduits to heaven (21; 31), intercelestial gates and the names on them (19), measurement of

Hades (32), the sun as a witness of human sins (4), the lake of the pious souls (22–23), interceding angels divided into the groups (7–10), Michael's role in the intercession (43), lists of vices (6), and the neglect of the prayer as a basic sin (10). None of these motifs is unique for these two compositions, but their abundance and sometimes the correspondence in details can hardly be coincidental. The mention of Abimelech spared in the Agrippa's estate (T:2G) alludes to the story known from *4 Bar.* 3:9–5:30. Another motif shared with *4 Baruch* is the idea that Michael is "the key-holder of the Kingdom of Heaven" (11:2): he "opens the gates for the righteous" also in *4 Bar.* 9:5; (cf. *T. Levi* 5:1 and 6 possibly also referring to Michael). The unique motif of the "alien breath" (2:1G), in its combination with similar cosmographic depictions, may be shared with *Hist. Rech.* (*Apoc. Zos.*) 2:9.[41]

The rich traditions of *1 Enoch* provide many important parallels, mainly from the *Book of Watchers*. Among the most significant is the Enochic etiology of demons (15:3–10), which underlies the implicit demonology of *3 Baruch* (2–4). The Builders of *3 Baruch* are banished to heaven just as the Watchers (probably their fathers) in the Enochic tradition: Hades is celestial in both compositions (*3 Bar.* 4–5; *1 En.* 18–19; *2 En.* 10) and the Watchers are also imprisoned in heaven (*1 En.* 18–19; cf. *2 En.* 7 and 18), just as are the Builders (probably their progeny) in *3 Bar.* 2–3. *1 En.* 60:7, developing Job 41:8–9, mentions the unity of "two monsters", undivided also in *3 Baruch* (4:4G; 5:3G). The division for "the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water" in the mountain (*1 En.* 22:9), may correspond to the description of S, where the lake of the pious souls is also located "in the midst of the mountain" (10:2S). A list of visions very similar to the combination found in *3 Baruch*, but in a changed order, occurs in *1 En.* 32:3–33:3. The tour of Baruch looks like an expansion of the following fragment:

3 Baruch	*1 En.* 32:3–33:3
Trees of Eden (4:7S)	… And I came to Paradise of Righteousness and saw beyond these trees many large trees growing there, large, very beautiful and glorious,
The Vine Tree of Knowledge (4)	and the Tree of Wisdom from which the holy ones eat and know great wisdom. That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are like those of the carob; and its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful; and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. Then I said, "How beautiful is the tree, and

[41] Some close parallels from late works, like *Desputatio Panagiotae*, *Physiologus*, etc., must be posterior to *3 Baruch*.

	how attractive is its look!" Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me and said, "This is the tree of wisdom, of which your father of old and your mother of old, who were before you, have eaten, and they learned wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the Garden."
Beasts (3–5)	And from there I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other;
Birds (10)	and [I saw] birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other.
Foundations of heaven (2)	And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven rests,
Gates of heaven (*passim*)	and the gates of heaven open.
Luminaries and their routs (6–9)	And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the gates out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, one by one, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months …

We may also note similarities between the lists of images in *2 Bar.* 10:10–12 and *4 Ezra* 7:38–42.

Many astronomic depictions of *3 Bar.* 6–8 belong to the same tradition as the ones of *2 Enoch:* there are two lower "corruptible" heavens (8:5); the solar and lunar tracks are in the same heaven (11); solar gates (13:1); the sun and moon chariots driven by angels (11:3–5; 12 (A):2; 14 (J):3; also in *1 En.* 72:4–5; 73:2; 75:4); the sun's crown taken away and brought back by four (or four hundred in J) angels (14:2–3); the call for or the song to the "light giver" (15 (J):2); phoenixes accompanying and greeting the sun (12:1–2; 15:1–2); and the sun's rest at night (14:3; contradicting *1 En.* 72:37). S shares with *2 Enoch* the name and the role of Satanael (18:3; 21:4; 29:4–5; 31:4). Some details of the transformational celestial anointing are common to*3 Baruch*, *2 Enoch* and the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*2 En.* (A) 8:5; 22:9; *Vita* 35; 36:2; 40:1–2; 42:1–2; *Apoc. Mos.* 9:4; 13:1–3).

Some features of the unique ouranology of *3 Baruch* are dispersed through several compositions. The *Testament of Levi* (rescension α) probably shares with *3 Baruch* its original cosmology of three heavens with intercelestial gates (5:1) and celestial waters (2:7), and holds also to the idea of "dark" lower heavens inhabited by punitive and demonic forces (3:1–3; cf. *2 En.* 8:5). There is also a Michael-like gate guardian (5:1, 6). See also *4 Ezra* 3:19, which may refer to four subsequent intercelestial gates, and in this case, imply the ouranology similar to that of *3 Baruch* and the *Testament of Levi*. Significant ouranological parallels are found also in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, which clearly divides between the five low and two

high heavens and mentions intercelestial gates (8–10) with their gatekeepers (10:23–31) and the demons of the first firmament (7:9). The *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, preserved in a fragmentary state, does not mention any heavens beyond the fifth. It reports on angelic intercession, although it describes it differently (3–4). At the gate of heaven, the visionary meets zoomorphic angels similar in their chimeric appearance and location to the Builders of *3 Baruch* (3–4), while later the seer is threatened near Hades by a serpent-like angel (6:1–8). In *3 Baruch*, both the demonic Builders and Serpent-Hades lack any explicit threatening characteristics, which could nevertheless have been an original *raison d'être* of these images in the narrative, describing the route of the soul's ascent with its obstacles and dangers. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the Book of Revelation also preserve the traditions combined in the image of Serpent-Hades: the former identifies Hades with the fiery belly of the serpent-like Satan (*Apoc. Abr.* 23:7–11 and 31:2–5), while the latter attests to the identification of the figure of the celestial serpent with Satan (Rev 12:9). *Apoc. Abr.* 23:5 is also the only non-Rabbinic source identifying the Tree of Knowledge as the vine (in *1 En.* the fruit of the "Tree of Wisdom" is only "like clusters of vine"; 32:4). *Apoc. Abr.* 17:18–19 may refer to the concept of daily kindling of the primordial light or the separation of the light and darkness (6:13).

3 Baruch does not have much in common with *2 Baruch*, except the identical title and similar details in the setting for the revelation, including its topography and preceding lamenting (3:5; 10:5; 11:1–2; 34–35:1; cf. also the description of the return to earth in *3 Bar.* 17:2 and *2 Bar.* 7:2). If there was some mutual awareness, it is likely to have been of a polemic nature: our Baruch does not share the prophetic ambitions of the protagonist of *2 Baruch*. See also *2 Bar.* 10:10–12, which declares that some of the central images of the revelation in *3 Baruch* (the vine, the sun and the moon, rain and dew) are no longer relevant after the destruction of the Temple (although this could simply be a coincidence; cf. also *4 Ezra* 7:38–42). The images of the twofold beast of *3 Bar.* 4–5 and Leviathan and Behemoth of *2 Bar.* 29:4 are widely known, but their unification with the vine is not common and may help to explain why the account of the twofold beast is interrupted with the vine account in *3 Baruch*. As human transgressions defile the sun or darken the angels in *3 Bar.* 8:5; 13:1, so also they darken heavenly waters in *2 Bar.* 58:1; 60:1.

Some unique traditions found in *3 Baruch* could also have been known to Philo. The five trees of Eden (4:7S; known also to Gnostics) and the flowers-virtues (12:5Gff) may relate to elements of Philo's conception of the five trees of Paradise of Virtues (*Plant.* 8–9 [32–37] and par.), "bearing their fruit in the form of the virtues" (*Opif.* 56.153).

2. *Cosmos Revealed*

There is an apparent contradiction between the cosmological content of the book and the condemnation of the cosmological curiosity of the Builders: "Having taken a bore, they were eager to bore heaven, saying, 'Let us see whether heaven is [made] of clay, or of copper, or of iron.' When God saw this he did not allow them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of languages, and rendered them as you see" (3:7–8). This appears just a few verses after Baruch himself was curious about the "thickness" of the same heaven (4:4–5). This double standard may be settled by the suggestion that it is not the interest which is improper, but the shamelessly empiric method employed to satisfy it. The conflicting or mutually complimenting methods of empiric observation, speculation, authoritive knowledge, and revelation were all known to ancient thought. In his discussion of the superiority of speculative thinking, Plato also condemned the "light minded" empiricism in cosmological matters of those who, "being students of the worlds above, suppose in their simplicity that the most solid proofs about such matters are obtained by the sense of sight" (Plato, *Tim.* 91d). The Rabbis, in their turn, also rejected empirical observations, but in favor of authoritive textual witnesses (e.g., *b. Tamid* 32a; see comm. to 2:5S). *3 Baruch*, like other apocalyptic writings, presents an alternative methodology to resolve scientific questions – revelatory experience. The author regards revelation as the ultimate method for acquiring knowledge of the physical world (or at least he refers to such a conception, when he ascribes the cosmological picture he constructed to revealed knowledge). Cosmological knowledge is revealed to other apocalyptic seers (see above), and scientific curiosity could even be among the main factors of mystic experience. In the *Mithras Liturgy* a potential visionary asks for a revelation in order "to ascend heaven as an inquirer and behold the universe" (484–85). Revelation as an ultimate tool of exploration is not strange to Greco-Roman science (Er's ascent in Plato, *Rep.* 10.614a–621d; Scipio's dream in Cicero, *Resp.* 6.29), and could have been naturally adopted by the Hellenized thinkers of a people whose own legacy was based on revelation. It is plausible that an ability to obtain mystically revealed knowledge could have been an element of the *Bildung* of a Jewish intellectual, just as mystical initiation was for his Hellenistic contemporary (cf. Philo, *Leg. All.* 3.33.100; *Cher.* 14.48–49; *Sacr.* 15.60; 16.62). The hypothesis that the origin of *3 Baruch* lay in real mystical experience may be corroborated by the report of passing through the tunnels (see comm. to 2:2), unique for early Jewish literature (and thus hardly traditional), but very well attested in clinical reports of dreams and near-death experience.

3. *Rationalized Mythology*

The revealed cosmographic knowledge is given in *3 Baruch* through mythopoeic images. In this respect, *3 Baruch* is a good example of "re-mythologized" Jewish thought."[42] This model was well developed by the Greeks, who tried to combine new empiric and speculative science with the images of traditional mythology. Thus already since the pre-Socratic Anaximander a speculative cosmogonic philosophy creatively integrated the elements of Hesiod's traditional theogony. Similarly the creator of *3 Baruch* resorts to *Ikonen*, mythologems or the symbolic language of Jewish and universal lore, integrating them into his more or less coherent ideas of "how the world works." Some of these ideas may be speculative invention, while most of them probably derived from the national oral tradition and written prooftexts, as well as from foreign lore and science.

The combination of traditional, revealed, and speculative elements is achieved through elegant harmonization of different traditions. The main conceptual tendency of this harmonization seems to be the uniquely systemized reconciliation of physical (astronomic and meteorological) and spiritual (retributive) functions traditionally ascribed to cosmic phenomena:

3.1. *Harmonized traditions*. An attempt at harmonization is inevitable for a composition based on such an approach. This applies both to the harmonization of different Jewish traditions and to the reconciliation of Jewish and Greco-Roman conceptions. The most remarkable examples are the following:

- the reconstructed account of celestial demons (2–3 and *T. Levi* 3:2; *Asc. Isa.* 7:9; *T. Sol.* 2:2; 4:6; 8:2; Eph 6:12; etc.) juxtaposed to the inaccessibility of heaven for terrestial demons (2:1G and *1 En.* 15:8–10);
- the story on the giants that perished in the Flood (4:10 and *1 En.* 89:6; *Sib. Or.* 2:283; 3 Macc 2:4; Wis 14:6; 4Q370 1.6; CD 2.19–20) harmonized with the traditions concerning the giants that survived the Flood (*1 En.* 15:3–10*; Jub.* 5 and 10; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Deut 3:11; *b. Nid.* 61a; *b. Zeb.* 113a-b; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; etc.) and instigated the building of the Tower (2–3 and Pseudo-Eupolemus 9.17.2–3; etc.);
- the motifs of the imprisonment of the fallen Watchers in heaven (*1 En.* 18–19; 2 *En.* 7; 18) and of their demonic offspring in the underworld (*Jub.* 10:7–11) woven into the idea of the imprisonment of the demonic progeny of the Watchers in heaven (2–4);

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[42] Cf. Koch, *Rediscovery*, 27; Fishbane, *Biblical*.

– the complex figure of the twofold beast (3–5) combining several characteristics of Leviathan and Behemoth; cosmic, sea and celestial serpents; Hades and Satan, dispersed among diverse traditions (*1 En.* 60:7; 63:14; *2 Bar.* 29:4; *4 Ezra* 4:42; 6:52; *Apoc. Abr.* 30; Rev 6:8; 20:13–14; 12; *Pistis Sophia* 3.126; *b. B. Bat.* 72b–75a; *Lev. Rab.* 22.9–10; etc.);
– the combined image of Jewish Ziz (6–8 and *Gen. Rab.* 19.4; *Lev. Rab.* 22.10 and par.) and Greek phoenix (Hesiod, *Frag.* 204; Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.73; etc.); and
– the dichotomy of productive masculine and non-productive feminine waters (10:9G and *1 En.* 54:7–8; *t. Taan.* 1.4; etc.) introduced in order to reconcile the tradition of the upper waters (*1 En.* 41:3; *b. Taan.* 10a; etc.) with the Hellenistic meteorology of the closed hydrosystem (Xenophanes, *Frag.* 11; Aristotle, *Meteor.* 2.9; etc.; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 13.10–11).[43]

See also below on the traditions concerning the drinking cosmic serpent and the devouring Hades as the serpent's belly (4–5); the consuming punitive sun and the protective bird (6–8); and the celestial water supply and the purification lake (10). It is difficult to judge whether these harmonized accounts are an innovation of *3 Baruch*, or whether, on the contrary, they reflect earlier forms of conceptions, which were subsequently separated into component parts in other preserved sources.

The conceptual collision of originally independent motifs sometimes produces an ironic, probably deliberate, effect:

– Builders intent to pierce the firmament (3:7), which is as thick as the height of the sky or the width of earth (2:4);
– Builders who wished to reach heaven, got what they wanted, and were taken there, but as a punishment for such an intention (2:7; 3:7–8); and
– Beasts, cosmic drinkers and man-eaters (4:5G; 4:6G; 4:4S; 5:1), are in other accounts eaten by men at the eschatological banquet.

See also obvious ironic discourses in *Apoc. Abr.* 1–6; in many sections of the *Testament of Abraham*; in the *Testament of Job* and the fragments of Artapanus; and in Josephus, *Ant.* 7.172, 195, 238; 11.247, 252. Similarly, we may note the famous ironic treatments of traditional mythological accounts by Euripides.

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[43] Thus also the ouranological depictions must be not a "misunderstanding of the Greco-Roman models" (Wright, *Heaven*, 177, 183), but rather a fusion of Greek and Near Eastern astronomic traditions (see comm. to chs. 6 and 11).

3.2. *Tamed myths*. There are different ways to rationalize mythology. *3 Baruch* does not rework the mythologems in the direction of Platonic spiritualization, assuming that every part of the universe must be "ensouled" and inhabited by a creature proper to it (*Tim.* 39e–40a). Furthermore, the celestial inhabitants of *3 Baruch* can hardly be archetypical or spiritual equivalents of earthly beings (as they probably are in *Apoc. Abr.* 22:2 and *passim*). At the same time, *3 Baruch* does not confine its cosmic forces to purely physical functions. Here the archaic monsters are tamed to serve the cosmic order also in its metaphysic dimensions, functioning as components of the mechanism of retribution (cf. *Message* above). This multifunctionality does not indicate spiritualization so much as an integration of both the physical and spiritual:

– The *Serpent-Hades*, by drinking, serves as a cosmic sewerage, disposing of superfluous water (cf. *b. B. Bat.* 74b; *Lev. Rab.* 22.9–10 and par.), whereas by eating, it serves as a cosmic executioner, disposing of the sinners (cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 30).
– The *sun* not only gives light, but is also a potential punitive force sensitive to human sins and destined to burn the wicked at the end of times (cf. Isa 30:26; Mal 3:19; *Apoc. Paul* 4*; Gen. Rab.* 6.6; etc.),[44] while the *sun bird* moderates its punitive power (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 19.4; *Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *b. Git.* 31b; *b. B. Bat.* 25b).
– The *lake of birds* serves as a cosmic water supply (cf. *1 En.* 41:3; *b. Taan.* 10a; etc.), and probably also functions as a purification basin for the sun and the soul-birds (cf. Plato, *Phaed.* 113a; *Apoc. Mos.* 37:3–5; *Apoc. Paul* 23; *Apoc. Pet.* 14; *Gen. Rab.* 6.6 and par.).

Thus, the seeming chaotic conglomerate of archaic images in *3 Baruch* is actually best viewed as a rather harmonious picture of the cosmos: the impure destination of lower waters and the wicked from beneath; the pure upper waters, the destination of the just, from above; and between them, the sun with its bird, a pair representing a balanced system of justice and mercy (6–8; cf. Job 25:2; *Apoc. Abr.* 10:9). See also the widely found Rabbinic conception of the balance of the attributes of Justice and Mercy (מידת הדין and מידת הרחמים): "You [God] conquer the attribute of Justice with Mercy." (*Sifre* Num. 134; cf. *Sifre* Deut. 26; *Mek.* Beshalah, Shira 3; etc.).

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[44] Cf. the universal motif of the Sun as a deity of justice, mention of the sun in the judgment contexts in Num 25:4; 2 Sam 12:11–12; Ps 19 and probably its ironic and polemical treatment in Eccl 3:16; 4:1; 8:9–10, 14–15 (see Gericke, "Injustice").

4. *Riddles and Subtexts*

As shown in *Implied content* above, our interpretation of *3 Baruch* is predicated upon the premise that the book speaks in riddles and preteritions. This text is not only laconic, but also deliberately elliptic, concealing the meanings of revealed images, and the connections between them. The text is furthermore rich in symbols and ekphrases which also contribute to the puzzling character of the narrative.

This character might have been connected to the *Sitz im Leben* of *3 Baruch*, as either a report of actual mystic experience or within a context of mysterial rites, such that it would reflect the logic of either a dream or ritual. Although both suggestions are plausible, neither is provable, and it is also possible for a high level of subtextuality to appear in a purely literary work. The subtexts, which to different extents are regular constituents of any piece of literature, are especially relevant for esoteric narratives, particularly so when they resort to myths. The equivocal and symbolic language referring to known myths and traditions, as well as to other texts, puts prerequisites of previous knowledge to the audience, widens the semantic field of the implicit message, and demands more active interpretational effort. An oracle "does not say and does not hide, but indicates" (σημανεῖ; Heraclitus apud Plutarch, *Pyth. Or.* 21.404e). Similarly myths "hint" or "speak in riddles" (αἰνίττονται; Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.1.7.27; cf. Plutarch, *Pyth. Or.* 407e).[45] Greek mythic αἰνίγματα in this respect may be phenomena similar to Jewish חידות: "I will open my mouth in a parable [משל], I will utter riddles from of old [קדם-חידות מני]" (Ps 78:2). Also Jesus "did not say anything to them without a parable [χωρὶς δὲ παραβολῆς]" (Mark 4:34; cf. 4:11). "Now we see [as] through a mirror in a riddle [ἐν αἰνιγματι]; then we shall see face to face" (1 Cor 13:12).

This way of expression may be characterized by the extreme mythopoeic concreteness and visuality of the narrative: virtues are flowers, mercy is oil, evil is wine, souls are birds, demonic spirits are satyrs, hell is serpent, etc. The visually puzzling images of *3 Baruch* are also a function of the fact that according to the conventions of the genre, the work is supposed to be a report of visual experience. The very genre of "vision" makes apocalyptic thinking ekphrastic (although it can be very difficult to discern when the text employs *ekphrasis*, as a verbal depiction, reflecting a real or imagined referent, and when symbols function as cultural codes without a concrete referent). Whether our author actually saw these images during mystical ex-

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[45] On the riddle language in antiquity see Stroumsa, *Hidden*.

perience or whether he developed them on the basis of known traditions, he will in either case have been influenced by the dominant physical imagery of the material culture of his civilization. Leaving aside verbal explanations, this is the complete list of what our visionary *saw* between the first and the last gates of heaven:

– satyrs/fauns (2:3; 3:3),
– intercoiling serpents (*caduceus*; 4:4G),
– four or five trees of Paradise (4:7S),
– vine tree (Eden; 4:8ff),
– sun's quadriga (6:1–2),
– sun bird stretching its wings before the sun (possibly the winged sun; 6:2–8; 7:3–6; 8:2),
– moon's chariot (9:3),
– lake with birds (10:2–3),
– cultic *phiale* (11:8),
– virtues (probably personified *Aretai*, V*irtutes*; 11:9G), and
– cultic baskets bearers (*kanephoroi*; 12:1).

All these images are found in Hellenistic and Near Eastern iconography, and some were very popular. Some of them, like the depictions of the vine or of the sun's quadriga, have been preserved also among the remnants of ancient Jewish art.

Ekphrasis causes the verbal narrative to assimilate to the dumb or "feebly mumbling" visual arts, at the same time lacking advantages of real visual presentation. While the interpretive potential of such a narrative grows, the explicit communicative efficiency becomes more limited. Visualization is a major factor in the incomprehensibility of apocalyptic literature for the uninitiated recipient, be it a stranger, an ignorant member of the originally intended audience, or a modern researcher. This fact is only partly compensated by the eratopocritic narrative accompanying these depictions. In *3 Baruch* most of the images pass unexplained and some are explicated only in the later rescension, thus presupposing the ability of the target audience to decipher them on their own.

X. Worldview

Below I adduce a systemized description of the world as seen by the author(s) or early editor(s) of *3 Baruch*, including their values and beliefs. In assembling and analyzing clues to the implied outlook of the composition as a whole, we must bear in mind that some of the evidence could have been introduced by individual redactors, who are likely to have differed from the original author(s), and from one another, in various aspects of their worldviews. When possible, we will aim to distinguish between these layers (see *Reconstructed Content*). Many descriptions below are the result of new interpretations, the basis for which may be found in the commentaries on the text.

1. *God*

God is mentioned in the setting of the vision and in the biblical excurses and other explanations heard by Baruch in its course, while in the vision *per se* God is completely absent. The vision of the "glory of God" promised to Baruch (4:2S; 6:12; 7:2; 11:2; 16:6S),[46] must refer not to theophany, but to other celestial mysteries.

The transcendentality of God is emphasized. God resides in the heaven (probably supercelestial) which is inaccessible even to angels, except for Michael (11, 14). Although God does communicate directly with humans – he sent an angel to Noah to declare his will in response to Noah's prayer (4:15) and similarly he heard and Baruch's prayer and sent him a revelatory angel (1:6),[47] – there are still two intermediate stages in human interaction with God (see the sections on *Angels* and *Retribution*).

Any dualistic assumptions are implicitly rejected. Although the Tree of Knowledge, the primary source of evil, was planted by Sammael, the historical, as well as cosmic, evil is controlled by God. He is the one who permitted Nebuchadnezzar to destroy Jerusalem, so that nations can ask:

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[46] G adds that Adam was "divested" of it, and all wine abusers "become far from it" (4:16G).

[47] Probably the later G adds that Abimelech was saved in the the destruction of the Temple "by the hand of God" (T:2G).

"Where is their God?" (1:1–2G). He brought the Flood about and destroyed the generation of giants (4:10). God created "alien spirits" (probably terrestial demons; 2:1G) and possibly "banished" those of them who initiated the building of the "Tower of War against God," from earth to the lower heaven (2:7).[48] He also cursed Sammael/Satanael and his plant (4:8). In the same manner, God is in full control over other celestial forces: he appointed the Sun Bird (6:5), created and punished the moon (9:8); celestial birds praise him (10:5S; 10:7G); Michael brings men's virtues to God (11:9G; 14:2G) and intercedes before God for other angels (12:5).[49] God is the judge of the Day of Judgment (1:7).

2. *Angels*

Angels are very central in this apocalypse which is deprived of a theophany. The heavenly experience of Baruch focuses on angelic beings with its culmination in the encounter with Michael, who is the "commander-of-chief" of the celestial army, the gate-guard of the "Kingdom of Heaven," the intercessor for humans and angels, and probably the high priest of the celestial liturgy (11–16). Four angels (of Presence), Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, heading 200,000 other angels and the angel Satanael among them, planted Eden (4:7S). Two other angels, Sarasael (Sar Rasael) and Panuel, transfer revelations (4:15; T:1S; 2:4). Panuel is not only a transmitter but also an "interpreter of the revelations" (11:6G).

Angels in zoomorphic form serve the luminaries, drawing their chariots. They are the forty fiery winged horses of the sun's quadriga (6:2S) and the twenty oxen (and lambs in G) of the moon's vehicle (9:3). Four angels renew the sun's crown every night (8:4). The anthropomorphic lights themselves, although not defined thus, may be a kind of angelic beings, along with the three celestial Beasts (3–6). The birds of the celestial lake who praise God unceasingly, although defined in G as the souls of the pious (10:5G), could otherwise be regarded as angelic beings (10:3–7).

Among angelic orders there are the "angel of hosts [or "of powers"]," like Panuel (1:8G; 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S),[50] and the "angels over the principalities," as the attendants of humanity are called (12:3G). "Virtues"

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[48] He also "appeared" to the builders and "confused their languages" (3:6) and "smote them with blindness" (3:8).

[49] While human transgressions defiling the sun do not please God (8:5).

[50] He is also called "archangel" in 10:1G. Another detail we learn on him is that he is winged (7:6G; 8:6S)

(11:9G; 12:5G; 14:2G) are also treated as a name for an angelic class. The interceding angels are divided to groups assigned to the righteous and the sinners, and in the later redaction they are also assigned to average men (12–16). The angels of the sinners are "darkened" (13:1) and serve as a punitive force (16:3), but still are clearly distinguished from demonic forces (see *Demons* below).

Could *3 Baruch* feature any angelolatric beliefs? Baruch calls his guiding angel "Lord" (5:1; 6:4, 9; 11:2, 3, 8; 12:2), the same title he uses in addressing God (T:1; 1:2). Panuel orders Baruch to stop direct communication with God ("be silent" of 1:3S), and below the seer is shown that there are two mediatory stages in human interaction with God, and even the low-rank angels are deprived of the direct contact with him: they bring men's virtues (or prayers in S) before Michael, who transfers them further to God (12–16) and then returns them the recompense. According to its nature they serve as beneficial (15) or punitive angels (16). Although no human prayer to angels is mentioned, Panuel bows to Michael (11:6) and interceding angels pray him for reassignment (13:3). The special interest in luminaries can also be added to the indications of angelolatric tendencies (6–9).

All this may indicate that *3 Baruch* either shared some of the angelolatric beliefs or at least developed from a context in which such ideas were being held.

3. *Demons*

Demonology, so significant in the worldview of the ancients, is almost absent from the explicit narrative of this apocalypse. However, the traces of the implied Enochic demonology, slightly developed, are recognizable throughout the book. The implicit demonology of *3 Baruch* can be reconstructed as follows: Sammael-Satanael, who planted the Tree of Knowledge (4:7S; 4:8) is a fallen angel cursed because he seduced Adam (4:8). The gigantic progeny of the fallen angels has mostly perished in the Flood (4:10). The surviving giants or the demonic spirits of the deceased giants have initiated the building of the "Tower of War against God" (2–3). Their motive could be the incapability of the "alien spirits" to cross the border between earth and heaven (2:1G). As is typical for demons, in the course of the construction works they turned out to be especially harmful for women in childbirth and for newborns (3:5; the only demons named thus in *3 Baruch* hurt children in 16:3). As a punishment they were blinded, transformed into the likeness of satyrs, and "banished" to the very heaven which they so wished to reach, but ironically to its lower and impure realm (2–3), just

below Hades (4–5). They might have constituted one of the dangers of the lower stages of mystic or post-mortem ascents: just before meeting them, the guiding angel showed Baruch "means of safety" (according to one interpretation of 2:2S); the righteous bird-souls, whom we meet when they have reached the higher heaven (10:5G), must have passed through this lower realm as well. The locusts which punish the wicked (16:3) may also belong to the demonic locusts motif.

4. *Physical World*

The physical world consists of earth and heaven; no mention of the netherworld is made. Hades and the sources of fruitful waters are all in heaven. The rivers are mentioned, but their abyssal sources are not referred to, and the word "abyss," even in a figurative sense, never appears. If *3 Baruch* still reflects a tripartite cosmos, it is not the three realms of the Mesopotamian and ancient Israelite models as defined in Ex 20:4 and Deut 5:8: "heaven above," "earth beneath," and "water under the earth," but rather the three realms of those Psalms that consistently have the "sea" instead of the "water under the earth" (Pss 8:7–8; 33:6–8; 36:5–6; 69:34; 96:11; 104:1–2; 135:5; 146:6). This "sea" is reachable from both earth (4:7G; 4:5S) and heaven (4:6G; 4:4S; 5:1), and must include the River (Oceanus) that divides the two (2:1G).

4.1. *Earth*. In distinction to *1 Enoch*, *3 Baruch* contains almost no geographic descriptions. Exceptions to this are the list of rivers (4:7G; 4:5S) which belong rather to the water system; a few topographic details about Jerusalem and the area (T:2G); and mention of Babylon (1:1S). There may possibly be an implicit reference to the three "kingdoms" of the terrestrial realm, i.e., earth, water, and air, in the introduction of the three cosmic beasts. These probably correspond, respectively, to the spheres of Hades ("Behemoth on thousand mountains"), the sea dragon (Leviathan), and the gigantic bird (Ziz-Phoenix).

We must also take into account that when Baruch observes something, it does not necessarily mean that the object is situated in the heaven in which he stands. In this case, Leviathan and Hades might have been on earth below, while the sun and Phoenix could have been higher in the third heaven (cf. esp. 7:2G), with Baruch himself in the second. Thus, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the visionary from the seventh heaven explicitly observes earth and the contents of the lower firmaments (cf. Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul*; Cicero, *Resp*. 6.19).

4.2. *Waters*. Hydrology, and especially the water circle integrating terrestrial as well as celestial waters, is among the primary concerns of *3 Baruch*. It includes the uncrossable River (Oceanus) which separates heaven from earth (2:1G). Being thus located between the two realms, the Sea is filled by earthly rivers from the one side while being drunk by the celestial Beasts from the other. The terrestial rivers and the sea by themselves may constitute a closed cyclic system (as Eccl 1:7 and Aristotle's *Meteorology*), but it is rendered open by two supernatural factors. Rain and dew (or at least the fruitful ones) come from a celestial basin (10:6–9), so that in order to dispense superfluous water being accumulated this way (and thus probably to prevent a new deluge) the celestial Beasts must drink a regular portion from the Sea on a daily basis (4:6G; 4:4S; 5:1). The novelty of this system, probably implied also in the stories about the drinking beasts in rabbinic texts (Leviathan and Behemoth), is the fact that the ultimate water collector, the abyss-*tehom*, is located in heaven. Thus the terrestial water system is integrated into the cosmic one.

4.3. *Heaven*. Heaven, especially in its connections to physical and moral life on earth, is the chief object of Baruch's exploration. It is not flat, but hemispheric, and the "foundations of heaven" are separated from the "ends of earth" by the River (Oceanus) encircling the earth (2:1).

The round line of the horizon, where the Oceanus and heaven meet, is holed with 360 "gates of heaven" (6:13). From the fact that the gates are said to open at the sunrise and must serve the sun's movements, we can infer that the hemisphere revolves horizontally and that the sun passes each day of the solar year through a different opening, in order to continue to rise and set constantly in the east and west. Another indication of the revolving of heaven is the fact that otherwise we would be unable to explain the visible motion of the fixed stars, which are "suspended" on it (9:8G).

The hemispheric firmaments are very thick: only the lower one is as thick as the distance from earth to heaven (G; or as the width of earth in S; 2:5), and Baruch has to travel through it for a month (2:2). Since his journeys through the subsequent heavens are longer (3:1; 4:2; 11:2), their firmaments must be even more massive. This makes the gates look rather like tunnels, well attested in mystic and clinical practices.

Everything Baruch observes is located between the hemispheres (cf. "airs" of the heavens in *Asc. Isa.* 8:1 and 9:1), which are thus not necessarily higher than the surface of the gates of the sun (which means that the tour could be also not a literal ascent but a horizontal motion between the gates at the lower "ends of heavens"). The original text must have had three (or even two) such spaces between the firmaments below the highest heaven

inaccessible to Baruch (see comm. to ch. 11). The lower impure heavens contain demons and Hades (2–5). The realm of the luminaries (where defilement is still possible; see 8:4) separates the lower heavens from the higher pure heavens, known in other sources as "holy" or "incorruptible," where probably the sun's crown and the soul-birds are purified in the celestial lake (10). Every one of these heavens might contain one station in the celestial ascent of the soul-birds: Hades as a final stage for the wicked; the lake as a waiting abode for the righteous; and the eternal resting place in "the Kingdom of Heaven" behind the gate of the last firmament visited by Baruch.

5. *History*

The sequence of events of cosmic and national history appearing in *3 Baruch* is as follows: The angels planted Paradise (4:7S). God forbade Adam to touch (4:8G) the Vine-Tree of Knowledge planted by Sammael-Satanael (4:7S; 4:8). The latter deceived Adam, disguising himself as the serpent (4:8; 9:7). The moon did not hide itself, as it was supposed to do (9:7). As a result, God cursed Sammael and his plant (4:8) and punished the moon (9:7). God caused the Flood, which destroyed the giants, entered Paradise and washed the vine from there (4:10). Noah, when his hesitations were resolved by revelation, replanted the vine together with other plants he found (4:11–15). The Tower of War against God was erected by cruelly enforced labor to the height of 463 cubits, but God punished the builders (3:4–8). God permitted Nebuchadnezzar to capture Jerusalem, his own vineyard (1:1–2). The latter fact is the only national event mentioned in *3 Baruch*. Note that all the rest belong to the pre-Tower period of the universal undivided humanity.

6. *Moral*

While human vices are enumerated thrice (4:17; 8:5; 13:4), the content of positive moral demands is not mentioned at all, and virtues are mentioned without specification (and only in G: 11:9G; 12:5G; 14:2G). Prayer is mentioned in both versions in 11:4. S assigns a special weight to prayer, consistently putting it in place of "virtues" in G (11:9G; 14:2G). The interpolated fragments (one of which is in G) give special place to the neglect of public prayer as a basic sin (13:4G; 15:3S; 16:4S). The Vine excursus presents the abuse of wine as a "father" of the main sins (4:17). Human transgressions defile the sun (8:5) and darken angels (13:1–4).

The "virtues," although not specified, may be symbolically loaded. Presented as flowers (12:5), in the allegoric language of Philo they may be connected to the four trees of Eden planted by four archangels (4:7S; "paradise of virtues"), and thus may also be identified with the Hellenistic four cardinal virtues also attested in Jewish literature.

7. *Retribution*

The retribution mechanism is symbolically presented as a liturgic service of the angels exchanging the flowers – human virtues in G or prayers in S – for a due recompense: oil (deciphered as "mercy" in S) for the righteous (15:1–2) and locusts with hail and thunder for the sinners (16:3; specifically only the plague of the children is mentioned). If the oil reward for the pious may refer to a protective chrismatic seal, and also to the anointing for the eternal life and/or resurrection, the sinners must be punished in their lifetime by plagues (16:3) and, eaten by Hades, be deprived from the afterlife (4:5G). The Day of Judgment (1:7) might have referred to this procedure. It is not specified whether this day denotes extra-chronological, annual (the New Year or the Day of Atonement), lifetime, or eschatological judgment.

8. *Afterlife*

The afterlife is treated explicitly only in those passages which are not shared by both versions (4:5G; 4:16G; 10:5G; 16:5–10S) and which must be later explanatory interpolations into the content probably implied (at least from the point of view of the editors) by the rich imagery of *3 Baruch*.

G reports on three post-mortem abodes: Hades, the lake of birds, and the Kingdom of Heaven (S mentions also "the resting places of the righteous" [16:6S] probably identical to the latter). The souls of the deceased ascend in the form of birds to a higher heaven. Demons and Hades are located in the lower heavens which are probably on the way of the soul-birds (2–5). The wicked are eaten *in corpore* by Hades (4:5G), and thus are probably deprived of a further ascent, as well as of both immediate afterlife and resurrection. By contrast, the just arrive at the celestial lake (10:5G), probably their purification or transformation basin and temporary abode, where they praise God (10:7G; 10:5S) and await the ointment reward given to their angels (15:2). This chrism probably enables the just to ascend further and to enter the gate to the "Kingdom of Heaven" on which their names are already inscribed (11:2G).

9. *Numeric Symbolism*

God has "disposed all things by measure and number and weight" (Wis 11:20; on the importance of numbers, cf. Philo, *Opif.* 3 and *passim*; Origen, *Hom. Num.* 1; 4; 5.2.2–3; 7.4.4; 8.1.5; Augustine, *Gen. ad Lit.* 4.3.7–4.6.12). Numbers are abundant in *3 Baruch*. Examining the following list, one should take into account that letters with numerical values are highly susceptible to corruption during both translation and transmission of manuscripts. In the Slavonic rescension the possible transliteration from Glagolitic to Cyrillic script could have been an additional factor of corruption. The numbers not mentioned in the text explicitly but derived from it through calculation are marked with an asterisk (*).

1 cubit of water per day is drunk by Serpent (4:6G; 4:4S; 5:1)
*2 (2+1) heavens (see comm. to ch. 11)
3 primary rivers (4:7G; 9 in 4:5S)
*3 (or 3+1) heavens (see comm. to ch. 11)
*3 named angels of G (2:5; 4:15; 11:4ff)
*4 angels of presence planting the Garden of Eden (4:7S)
*4 trees of Eden planted by the angels of presence (4:7S)
*4 virtues (see comm. to 11:9G)
4 – the chariot-of-four of the sun (6:2)
4 angels taking care of the sun's crown (8:4)
*4 kinds of locusts of the total of 7 plagues (16:3)
*5 (4+1) total of named angels planting the Garden of Eden (4:7S)
*5 (4+1) total trees of Eden (4:7S)
5 numbered heavens of the extant versions (11:1)
*5 main vices of wine (4:17; cf. 13 vices in 8:5G; 13:4G)
*7 named angels of S (1:1; 2:5; 4:15; 11:4ff)
*7 plagues (16:3)
9 primary rivers (4:5S; 3 in 4:7G)
9 cubits away the sun the phoenix is circling (6:2G)
*13 vices (8:5G; 13:4G; cf. 5 vices in 4:17)
15 cubits of water above the heights (4:10)
20 angelic oxen drive the chariot of the moon (9:3S)
30 days journey to the first heaven (2:2)
36 angels accompany the sun at the sunset (8:1S; 40 of 6:2 minus 4 taking care of the sun's crown in 8:4)
40 days of Noah's prayer (4:14)
40 angels drive the chariot of the sun (6:2)
60 days journey to the second heavens (3:2G; 7 in S)

185 days journey to the third heaven (4:2; 187 in S)
*224 days of the whole journey according to S: 30 (2:2); 7 (3:2); 187 (4:2)
*275 days of the whole journey according to G: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); 185 (4:2)
300 men throw the plummet to the distance which measures the Hades' belly (5:3G; 255 in S)
360 rivers of which 3 (9 in S) are primary ones (4:7G; 4:5S; 373 or 364 in S)
365 gates of heaven (6:13; 65 in S)
*365 days of the whole journey according to the reconstruction of Frasson: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); **90 (10)*; 185 (4:2) (see comm. to 10:1)
463 cubits height of the Tower of Babel (3:6)
4,000 modia is the size of letters on the wings of the Sun Bird
200,003 angels planted the Garden of Eden with Michael (4:7S; 200,000 plus Michael and three other angels of Presence)
409,000 giants were destroyed by the Flood (4:10)

Noticeable is the lack of the basic typological numbers like 10, 12, and even such explicit use of 3 (except primarily rivers only in G) and 7. The low figures are all Babylonian divisors: 3, 4, 5, 9, 20, 36, 40, 60, 300, 360, while most higher figures are prime numbers: 463, 200,003, 409 (thousands) (except 185, 365).

Isopsephy-gematria techniques, although attested in general Hellenistic culture and abundant in Rabbinic sources,[51] are presented in sole examples in Hellenistic Jewish literature (*Syb. Or.* 1:232–331; 5:12–51; *Asc. Mos.* 9:1; Rev 13:18; 21:17). *3 Baruch* significantly supplements this list:

– 360, the number of rivers filling the sea drunk by the celestial dragon corresponds to the numerical value of the Hebrew loan word from Greek – דרקון;
– 409 thousands, the number of giants having perished in Flood, must be derived from the Gk κατακλυσμός in Hebrew letters – *קטקליסמס (unattested elsewhere).[52]

Less obvious may be the following: 300 in measuring Hades is a gematria of Heb מעמקים "depths" (cf. "out of the depth of the belly of Hades" in Sir 51:5); 463 cubits, the height of the Tower of Babel, is a numeric value of זנות "debauchery" (cf. "Babylon the great, mother of prostitutes and of earth's abominations" in Rev 17:1–6).

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[51] Cf. Collins, "Numerical," 116.
[52] These two gematrias were noticed by Bohak ("Gematrias").

XI. General Conclusions

The present treatment of *3 Baruch* hopes to provide the key for interpretation of one of the most enigmatic Jewish Hellenistic texts. The main general conclusions that can be derived from the summary above would be the following:

– The textual evidence enables a stratification of *3 Baruch* into at least four textual layers that bear witness to different stages of its editing. The differentiation of the content belonging to the *Urtext* (or at least the earliest reconstructable layer) makes possible the more efficient discussion of the points below.
– The elliptic and ekphrastic method of presentation, characteristic for the *Urtext* (and only partly compensated in later explanatory editorial layers) poses an obstacle for the understanding of *3 Baruch*. However, this method does not conceal a skilful construction of the narrative involving sophisticated harmonization of diverse traditions, and provides enough hints to enable a convincing reconstruction of the implied content, structure and message of the book.
– The reconstruction of the implied content of *3 Baruch* is corroborated by diverse and independent sources, and solves many problems of interpretation. The very feasibility of convincing reconstruction based mainly on parallels from Jewish sources, proves that the text has deep roots in early Jewish lore.
– *3 Baruch*, properly read, significantly enriches our data on the history of motifs of early Jewish lore, at times providing missing links between different stages of their development, and preserves important evidence on proto-Gnostic and proto-Christian traditions.

XII. Bibliography

Abbreviations

ANET	Pritchard James B. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Berlin-New York, 1972–
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research*
BEThL	*Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BLDR	*Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*. С.-Петербург: Наука, 1999
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BZNW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956-.
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CEJL	*Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature*
CH	*Corpus Hermeticum*
CIG	Boeckh, August. *Corpus Inscruptiones Graecae*. Berlin: Ex Officina Academica, vendit G. Reimeri libraria, 1828–1877.
CT	Faulkner, Raymond Oliver. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 3 vols. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1973–1978.
CTA	Herdner, Andrée. *Corpus des tablettes en cuneiforms alphabétiques* à Ras-Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale: P. Geuthner, 1963.
DK	Diels, Hermann and Walther Kranz. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker.* Zurich: Weidmann, 1985.
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EI	*Eretz Israel*
FGH	Jacoby, Felix. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Leiden: Brill, 1954–1964.
HR	Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A. Redpath. *A Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker, 1998.
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*

IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IG	Gaertringen, F. Hiller von et al., *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1913–
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBQ	*Jewish Bible Quarterly*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JE	Singer, Isidore et al., eds. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 12 vols. New York-London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–1905.
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JJTP	*Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1973–
JSIJ	*Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha*
KAR	Ebeling Erich, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Bd. 28, 34. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1919, 1923.
LPG	Lampe, Geoffrey W. H. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford-New York: Clarendon Press, 1961.
LSG	Liddell, Henry G., Robert Scott, and Henry S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon (with a Revised Supplement)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
Mikl	Miklosich, Franz, Ritter von. *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*. Vindobonae: G. Braumüller, 1862–1865.
MMM	Cumont, Franz, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*. Bruxelles: H. Lamertin, 1896–1899.
NHC	Robinson, James McConkey. *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*. Leiden: Brill, 1972.
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
Or	*Orientalia (NS)*
Ostr	Остромирово евангелие 1056–57 г.
OTP	Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
PG	Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. *Patrologia Graeca*. 162 vols. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857–1866.
PGM	Preisendanz, Karl et al. *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. Leipzig-Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1928–1931.

PRU *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*
PVTG *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece*
RB *Revue Biblique*
REJ *Revue des études juives*
RHPR *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
SBLSP *Society of Biblical Literature Supplement Series*
Srezn Срезневский, Измаил Иванович. *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*. С.-Петербург: Тип. Имп. академии наук, 1893–1903.
SVTP *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*
Supr Codex Supraslensis
Syll Dittenberger, Wilhelm. *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*. Leipzig: S. Hirzelium, 1915–24.
TSAJ *Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum*
TS 14th cent. Книга Бытия по рук. Троицко-Серг. лавры XIV в., Книга Исход по рук. Троицко-Серг. лавры XIV в.
Upyr Списки с рук, Упыря Лихого 1047 г.
UT Gordon, Cyrus H. *Ugaritic Textbook*. *Analecta Orientalia* 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965.
Vasmer Фасмер, Макс. *Этимологический словарь русского языка*. С доп. О. Н. Трубачева, под ред. Б. А. Ларина. Москва: "Прогресс", 1986–87.
VC *Vigilae Christianae*
VT *Vetus Testamentum*
WUNT *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*
ZAW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

3 Baruch: Editions, Translations, Commentaries, Monographs, Articles and Chapters

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TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

A. Title

Greek	Slavonic
1 A narration and revelation of Baruch,	
about those ineffable things which he saw by command of God.	
Bless Thou, O Lord!	[Cf. T:2S]
2 A revelation of Baruch,	2 A revelation of Baruch
	when angel Panuel was sent to him by the command of the Lord on the holy mount Zion,
who was upon the river Gel weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem,	when he was weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem upon the river.
when {also} Abimelech had been saved in Agrippa's estate by the hand of God, and {he} sat at the Beautiful Gates, where the Holy of Holies lay.	
[Cf. T:1G]	Bless Thou, O Lord!

NOTES

T:1G. *About … God* om. B.

T:1G/T:2S. *Lord*. In T:1–2S two different words are used. The first (T:1S) is **владꙑка** rendering Gk δεσπότης (also in 16:6S) as in the Greek blessing G (T:1G), while the Slavonic blessing (T:2S) has voc. **господи** referring to Gk κύριος.

T:2S. *Angel Panuel* (**ангелъ паноуилъ**). SN Phanuel L angel Rafael TB om. PVIDG. In 2:5S there are only the forms Phanael L and Phanuel β. The reading of mss SN in T:1S is less widely attested and is closer to the Semitic form (פנואל). The variants of L and of 2:5S are widely known, and thus may reflect emendation (see comm. ad loc.).

T:2G. *Weeping*. ΚΛΕΟΝ of both mss here interpreted as κλαίων. Thus understood also by S: **плака сѧ** "was weeping" (see comm. ad loc. and to "be silent" in 1:3S). Less probable: κλέων "telling of."

Estate (χωρίον). Also "place" in general. In LXX renders Heb כרם "vineyard" (1 Chr 27:17); in *4 Baruch* the term is interchangeable with "vineyard" (3:10); cf. 1:2 and comm. ad loc.

COMMENTARY

In contrast to the rest of the book, the title is formulated in the third person, similarly to many other apocalypses (cf. *1 Enoch*; *2 Enoch*; *Apocalypse of Abraham*; *4 Ezra*; *2 Baruch*; *Revelation*). This convention appears to have its roots in biblical prophetic tradition (cf., e.g., Isaiah, Jeremiah, etc.). G has a double title, the first part of which (besides the blessing) has no parallel in S. The second section of the Greek title shows a certain acquaintance with the Temple topography and presupposes the reader's knowledge of the Abimelech story as known from *4 Baruch*.

T:1. *Baruch*. Why is the vision ascribed to Baruch? The choice of the protagonist as a witness of the destruction of the Temple and, probably, an archetypical survivor (especially if identified with Abimelech, see comm. to T:2G) is appropriate for the setting of the revelation. But is there a connection between the figure as he is known from early Jewish tradition and the content of the vision *per se*? The selection of Baruch may reflect a connection between the "incomplete" nature of the revelation in this work, which lacks theophany and apotheosis, on the one hand, and the dubiousness or second-rate status of Baruch as a prophet, on the other. In contrast to most other visionaries, our seer does not experience transformation or enthronement,[1] and does not even receive access to the "the highest heaven" (11:3S)[2]; nor does he see the Throne of Glory (on this issue in detail see introductory comm. to ch. 11 below). There is also no mention of Baruch having entered Paradise or having seen the Tree of Knowledge that he discusses with an angel (4:8G/4:6Sff.). He probably does not even ascend *in corpore* (see comm. to 17:3G).

Similarly, in contrast to other sources, only in *2 Baruch* is the protagonist presented as a full scale prophet, even linked in his characteristics to Moses and overshadowing Jeremiah.[3] Elsewhere, Baruch is either a non-visionary or at most a "minor" one. In distinction to most other visionaries, Baruch is more a sage, a successor to the prophets, than a prophet *par ex-*

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[1] Similarly to other so called "quasi-mystical" apocalypses, which contain only descriptions of the celestial world (Wolfson, "Mysticism," 194; Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 91).

[2] Cf. the same term in *1 En.* 72:5.

[3] Wright, "Evolution," 272.

cellence.[4] In Jer 45 and in *4 Baruch* he receives an oracle only through the mediation of Jeremiah.[5] In Jer 45:5, Baruch was warned not to seek "great things" (whatever this may mean). In *1 Baruch* he is merely a sage and a community leader. Baruch does not figure in the *Lives of the Prophets* (although he was regarded as a prophet by Eusebius in *Pr. Ev.* 10.14.6 and by Origen in *Hom. Jer.* 8.5).[6] He is mentioned in a probably negative (although vague) context together with another prophetic disciple, Gehazi, in CD 8.20. Rabbinic literature also indicates his semi-prophetic status. The Rabbis debated whether Baruch was a prophet at all: "Baruch was greatly distressed because he did not receive the prophetic spirit" (*Mek*. Bo Intr.), though some did recognize him as a prophet (*Sifre* Num 78; *Sifre Zut*. 75 on Num 10:29; *y. Sot*. 9.24b; *b. Meg*. 14b; *Seder Olam* 20). See also the conception of קיצרי הנבואה applied to minor prophets following Jeremiah, identified as the "last of all the prophets" (*Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 13.14).

Martha Himmelfarb states: "*3 Baruch* stands apart from the other apocalypses … in its rejection of the possibility of the visionary's achievement of angelic status." In distinction to Enochic tradition or the *Ascension of Isaiah*, he is not even equal to angels; thus he addresses the angel "Lord."[7] However, in light of the above, it is most probable that we are not dealing here with a polemic against the Enochic tradition, but rather with a case of a minor hero co-existing with the tradition, a special kind of more modest and limited mystical experience. The exclusiveness of Enoch's visionary experience is formulated as "no man will see as I have seen" (*1 En.* 19:3; cf. Dan 10:7). Note that *3 Baruch* does not stipulate that more advanced ascent would be unfeasible: we may infer that it was possible for those whose names are written on the last gate (unless this refers to dead individuals; see comm. to 11:2S). The situation may be compared to higher and lower levels of initiation into practices of Hellenistic mysteries. See the use of the term "mysteries" in *3 Baruch*, including "great" and "greater" mysteries promised (but probably not shown) to him (1:4S; 1:6; 1:8G; 5:3S;

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[4] Thus Wright, "Baruch the Ideal Sage." In this he may be close to the figures of the later sages-visionaries of the Hekhalot literature, although their apocalyptic ambitions were less limited.

[5] Although the placement of the oracle in LXX Jer 51 might hint that he was supposed to succeed Jeremiah (so Bogaert, "Baruch").

[6] It is difficult to judge whether the existence of a Gnostic *Book of Baruch* by Justin known from Hippolytus' *Refutatio* 5.21 (where Baruch is a name of an archon) has anything to do with the popularity of Baruch as a mystic figure. Probably there is no connection.

[7] Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 87. Cf. comm. to ch. 12.

17:1S) and the "Lesser" and "Greater Mysteries" as known from Eleusis, as well as the use of these terms applied to Jewish revelatory activity by Philo (*Leg. All.* 3.33.100; *Cher.* 14.48–49; *Sacr.* 15.60; 16.62; see comm. to 1:6).[8]

Narration (διήγησις). Among early texts, this title (or genre definition) is attested only in *Apocalypse of Moses* and *Testament of Abraham* (some mss of the rec. B), though it is very common in later Christian compositions.[9] Cf. biblical titles with Heb דברי / Gk ῥῆμα or λόγοι like "Words of Jeremiah, "Words of Amos," etc. (cf. Neh 1:1; Eccl 1:1; Tob 1:1; *1 En.* 1:1). Contrast Heb חזון / Gk ὅρασις ("Vision of Isaiah", "Vision of Obadiah"). In the Greek *3 Baruch* both types of titles are combined: "Narration and Revelation."

Revelation (ἀποκάλυψις). See also the verb ἀποκαλύπτω as "reveal" in 4:13 and 14. In Jewish literature, the noun is attested for the first time in Sir 22:22 in the meaning "revealing of the secret" (μυστηρίου ἀποκαλύψεως) where, however, the context is ethical rather than mystical. "Wonders" shown by God are called ἀποκάλυψις in *T. Abr.* 6:8. Paul already mentions "visions and revelations [ἀποκαλύψεις] of the Lord" (1 Cor 14:6, 26; 2 Cor 12:1, 7; cf. Luke 2:32 (φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν, based on LXX Ps 97:2 and *T. Abr.* 6:8.[10] The use of any equivalent term as a title or genre definition is not attested in the present corpus of Hebrew or Aramaic texts. It appears in the titles of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*; *Testament of Abraham* (rec. B ms E); *Apocalypse of Ezra*; *2 Baruch*; *3 Baruch*; Revelation; Gnostic *Apocalypse of Adam* and later Christian apocalypses.[11] Among these only the *Apocalypse of Abraham* obviously had a Hebrew original, but it is possible that the title is a later addition, especially since it is absent in some versions of the text, or appears in modified forms, as it does in *3 Baruch*. Nevertheless, there is some rudimentary evidence in favor of the existence of a Hebrew, or at least Jewish Aramaic, term for this genre.[12]

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[8] Cf. also the hierarchy of initiates in Mythraic mysteries. On Jews and Hellenistic mysterial cults, see Goodenough, *By Light*; cf., e.g., Lease, "Jewish."

[9] For details on the use of the term see Harlow, *Baruch*, 183, n. 70 and 71.

[10] In distinction to the noun, the verb ἀποκαλύπτειν (as in Ps 97:2 above) is widely attested in LXX, where it renders Heb גלה (Prov 11:13; cf. Sir 4:18; 41:23 (42:1); Amos 3:7; Num 22:31; 24:4, 16 (cf. *1 En.* 1:2); cf. 1 Sam. 2:27; 3:21; etc.) or Aram גלא (Theod Dan 2:19, 22, 28 *et seq.*, 47). In some of the above passages it refers to the revelation of mysteries about the future given by God (Torrey, "Apocalypse," 669).

[11] Cf. Smith, "History;" Harlow, *Baruch*, 183.

[12] See Chajes, *Lingua*, 9; cf. Klausner (*Jesus*, 75) and Goldstein (*Jesus*, 72) referring to Chajes; Pines, "Hearot;" Kulik "Genre."

Narration and revelation (διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις). Only in Greek. The combination is unique for early Jewish literature.[13] The closest parallels are Λόγος καὶ ἀποκάλυψις ("treatise and revelation") τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου Ἔσδρα (Greek *Apoc. Ezra* 1; cf. also identical wording with the *Apocalypse of Ezra* in *3 Bar.* 1:6) and Διήγησις καὶ πολιτεία Αδὰμ καὶ Εὔας (*Apoc. Mos.*, Title). This compound title may conform to the most common structure for apocalyptic composition: first – introductory narration – prologue, and then an apocalypse *per se*. Note also the compound title of the *Ascension of Isaiah*: προφητεία ἀποκάλυψις καὶ μαρτύριον.

T:1G. *Ineffable things* (ἄρρητα). Probably, "unspoken, unnamed, unintelligible things." Alternatively, "things not to be spoken, divulged" (as in 2 Cor 12:4; see below), but this is less likely since Baruch does share his vision upon his return (although only in S; cf. 17:1S); cf. comm. to 1:3S: "be silent."

An equivalent Slavonic term – **неисповѣдаемъıи** – is applied to God's service (*2 En.* 22:2–3; and to the face of God according to Belgrade ms 321; cf. the same ms also in 1:1). God declares his own name "ineffable" in *Apoc. Abr.* 10:3 and 8. Philo mentions "revelation of his ineffable mysteries" (*Leg. All.* 3.8). In the third heaven,[14] Paul heard "ineffable words/things [ἄρρητα ῥῆματα], which it is not allowed for a man to utter" (2 Cor 12:4); cf. "far above of … every title that can be given" (Eph 1:21). "Ineffable majesty" of God is mentioned in Latin *Acts Pet.* (*Vercelli Acts*) 2. The "ineffability" of God and his mysteries became a basic term for Gnosticism (e.g., *Pistis Sophia* 6; 10; 45),[15] and a subject for philosophic discussion from Philo to Plotinus and Church Fathers.[16]

Understood literally, the term cannot refer to the whole vision, since some of its major objects are named and sometimes described in detail: seven named angels, Hades, Phoenix, luminaries. For the same reason, Michael can hardly be the ultimate object of the revelation, as suggested by some. The term could rather refer to the culmination of the vision – the Oil

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[13] Whereas it is found in late Christian texts, e.g., in the *Apocalypse of Mary* (Harlow, *Baruch*, 184, n. 72). In the *Testament of Abraham* both terms are found but in different manuscripts.

[14] According to one interpretation, this is also the ultimate destination of Baruch (see comm. to ch. 11).

[15] This is one of the most frequent terms of Irenaeus' *Adv. Haer.*, especially in characterizations of Gnostic teachings; see, e.g., "ineffable mysteries" that characterize aeons (1.3.2).

[16] See, e.g., Wolfson, "Negative;" Whittaker, "Catachresis."

Reward given for the righteous at the last gate (ch. 15), similarly to the "ineffable chrism" of Naassenes also received in the third celestial gate (Hippolytus, *Ref.* (5.9.22 [5.4]; see comm. to ch. 15). Alternatively, "ineffable" would be appropriate for a theophany, were one present in *3 Baruch* (cf. the unnamed "Father" of Basilides opposed to named angels; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.3–7). The use of the term in this case could count in favor of the hypothesis that the extant *3 Baruch* is the abridged version of an originally longer text including a theophanic climax (on this see comm. to ch. 11 below). The same form of the term (pl. abs.) is attested with the meaning of pagan mysterial practices (e.g., in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 1.1). In this sense it could have referred to Baruch's initiation into celestial secrets and his visionary experience in general rather than to its specific images.

T:1S. *Panuel*. Or Phanuel (see Notes), rendering Gk Πανουηλ or Φανουηλ. Cf. CS Phnauel (**ѳаноуилъ**) and Gk Phamael (Φαμαηλ) of 2:5 (which must be a corruption of Φανουηλ) and also CS Nopael/Koupael (**нопаиль/коупаилъ**) of mss SZ in S 4:7 (as a variant to Uriel), which may also go back to a corrupted Panuel (**паноуилъ**). Note the same development of the form Panuel to Phanuel in LXX Judg 8:8–9 and in Philo, *Conf.* 26, where the Tower of Babel is named "Phanuel" on the basis of Judg 8.

Panuel is called "angel of host(s)/power(s)" (Gk ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων; CS **ангелъ силъı**) in 1:8G; 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S and "archangel" in 10:1G (cf. "angels over the principalities" of 12:3). The name Phanuel appears in *1 Enoch* (40:9; 54:6; 71:8, 9, 13), where it substitutes for Uriel in the usual catalogue of the four angels of presence (*1 En.* 9:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 43:1; *Pesiq. R.* 46; *Pirqe R. El.* 4; *Num. Rab.* 2.10) and for Sariel of the *War Scroll* (1QM 9.12–16; in *Tg. Neof.* Gen 32:25–31 Jacob wrestles with Sariel). In mss of *3 Baruch* 4:7S, also containing the list of four angels (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel/Phanuel, Raphael), both traditions – with Uriel and Phanuel – are represented. The name is most likely to be derived from Peniel/Penuel of Gen 32:30 (translated by LXX as εἶδος θεοῦ, "Image of God").[17] Phanuel of *1 Enoch* is described as an angel of repentance: "the fourth, who is over all action of repentance unto the hope of those who would inherit eternal life, is Phanuel by name" (40:9; cf. 54:6; 71:8–12. Is he an angel of repentance also here? There may be a connection between

[17] Cf. Vermes: "In the circles represented by the Simultudes of Enoch, Qumran and the Neofiti variety of Palestinian Targum, the angelic adversary of Jacob was recognized as one of the four celestial princes and called alternatively as Sariel and Phanuel" ("Impact," 13).

repentance and revelation. Thus, weeping is a well-attested means of attaining revelation, implemented also by our seer (see comm. to "weeping" in T:2). In *T. Gad* 5:6–9 personified Repentance is connected to (revelatory?) knowledge and understanding: it "destroys ignorance, and drives away darkness, and enlightens the eyes, and gives knowledge to the soul, and leads the mind to salvation. And those things which are not learnt from man, are understood through Repentance." In *Herm. Vis.* 5.8 "the Shepherd" who reveals commandments and parables to a visionary is identified as "the angel of Repentance." See also personified Repentance in *Jos. Asen.* 15:7.

Note that in *1 Enoch* Phanuel's voice "expels the demons and forbids them from coming to the Lord of the spirits in order to accuse those who dwell upon earth" (40:7). In *3 Baruch* Panuel is defined as "an angel of powers" (see above), while "powers" are also known "to keep demons from destroying the creation of God" (*T. Adam* 4:5). These demonomachic functions of the guiding angel can be relevant for *3 Baruch*, where the angel is to lead the visionary through the lower heaven which is probably inhabited by demons and the "impure" Serpent-Hades (chs. 3–5).

James has raised the possibility that Panuel/Phanuel/Phamael of *3 Baruch* is an early corruption of Ramael/Remiel (*Ραμιηλ/Ραμαελ)[18] appearing in *2 Bar.* 55:3, 63:6; Greek *1 En.* 20:8 (Ρεμειηλ); Syriac *4 Ezra* 4:36 (Latin has *Hieremihel*); one of the versions of *Sib. Or.* 2.215 (here he also belongs to a group of five, probably fallen, angels); *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:15 (Eremiel). In LXX (B) Chr 2:33 and *3 Ezra* 4:36 the name corresponds to Jeremiel/Jerahmiel. Both Ramael of *2 Baruch* and Panuel/Phanuel/Phamael of *3 Baruch* are defined as interpreting angels: "the angel who is set over true visions" (*2 Bar.* 55:3; cf. 63:6) and "the interpreter of the revelations" (*3 Bar.* 11:7G).

T:1G. *Bless Thou, O Lord* (εὐλόγησον δέσποτα). Cf. T:2S. If this is an interpolation, it is an early one, since it is found in both the Greek and Slavonic versions. See the glorification in the very conclusion of the writing (17:4). The blessing at the beginning and the glorification at the end together form a frame that is characteristic of scribal custom. The initial blessing occurs, e.g., in the title of *Testament of Abraham* (resc. B), in *Apocalypse of Sedrach* with the same wording although reversed, and at the end of the title in *History of the Rechabites*,[19] in the expanded titles of *Acts of Thomas*, *Acts of John*, of the apocryphal *Apocalypse of John*, in the

[18] James, "Baruch", lvii.
[19] Cf. Gaylord, *Baruch*, 662.

opening of the prayer in *Apostolic Constitutions* 3.1; and in many later Christian works.[20] Similar blessings occur in the opening chapters of several New Testament epistles.

Perhaps the formula serves a specific ritual purpose, such as a benediction for writing or reading the text, in accordance with the Rabbinic concept "Whoever profits from this world without reciting a benediction defrauds it" (*b. Ber.* 35a)? The practice of writing down the benedictions was known and condemned by Rabbinic authorities: "Those who write down the benedictions are equal to such as burn the Torah" (כותבי ברכות כשורפי תורה; *t. Shab.* 13(19).4; *y. Shab.* 16.15c; *b. Ber.* 38a and 50a; *b. Shab.* 115b).

The *Book of Watchers* also begins and concludes with blessings: "The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect and righteous" (*1 En.* 1:1; dependent on Deut 33:1); note the conclusion:

> And as often as I saw [the portals of heaven and stars running through them] I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of his work to the angels and to spirits and to men [or "of men"], that they might praise his work and all his creation, that they might see the work of his might and praise the great work of his hands and bless him for ever (*1 En.* 36:4).[21]

Here blessings may be an integral part of an apocalyptic experience: "I, Enoch, was blessing the Lord of majesty and the King of the ages" (*1 En.* 12:3); "then I blessed the Lord of Glory and said, 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who rules for ever'" (22:14); "then I blessed the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who has prepared such things for the righteous, and has created them and promised to give to them" (25:7); "then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth his Glory and lauded him gloriously" (27:5); blessings continue in 81:3, 10; 83:11; 84:12. Sarah blesses God for the shown wonders defined as ἀποκάλυψις: "Glory to God who shows us wonders. And know, my Lord Abraham, that this means for us the revelation of some important matter, whether for good or for ill" (*T. Abr.* 6:8). This also finds a parallel in Rabbinic tradition, which prescribes the recitation of a blessing upon the sight of every remarkable phenomenon of nature, e.g., "Blessed be the Worker of Creation" (*m. Ber.* 9.2) or "Blessed is whose power fills the world," etc., or at a place of wonders: "Blessed be the Worker of Wonders" (*m. Ber.* 9.1); cf. Sir 43:11: "Look upon the rainbow and praise him that made it."

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[20] Harlow, *Baruch*, 84.

[21] Note that Nickelsburg regards chs. 34–36 as possibly being secondary in the *Book of Watchers*.

If *3 Baruch* in general and this verse in particular had a Semitic prototype, this formula would have included the name of the protagonist: גליון ברוך ... ברוך אתה ה'.

T:2. *Weeping*. Baruch weeps also in 1:1 and 1:3. Baruch laments over the Destruction according to Jer 45:3 and *2 Bar.* 6:2; 10:5; 35:1 (here also before the vision). Other visionaries usually weep before the revelation or other contact with God, as in Dan (10:2; cf. 7:15); *2 Enoch* (1:3); *4 Ezra* (5:13; cf. 3:1); and *T. Levi* (2:4; here just grieving). Moreover, Enoch weeps after his second vision (*1 En.* 90:41), and John weeps during the course of the revelation (Rev 5:4). The revelation was given to Ezra, because he "mourned greatly over Zion" (*4 Ezra* 10:38–39). Note also Noah, who weeps before his prayer (*3 Bar.* 4:13G/4:14S). Weeping and mourning as a technique of inducing mystical experience is attested in Jewish mystical practice.[22] As for weeping in other circumstances in *3 Baruch*, see Baruch weeping on behalf of sinners (16:9–10). Angels weep for the same reason (13:1; 16:1). The sun weeps for having been defiled by human sins (only in 8:5S β).

T:2G. *River Gel*. The name is unidentified. James assumes a corruption: Gk ΓΕΛ from abbreviated ΚΕΔ(ΡѠΝ), i.e., Kedron, since "the locality must be in or near Jerusalem, for we are told just after this that Baruch sat 'at the beautiful gates.' And further in *2 Bar.* 5:5; 21:1; 31:2 he goes to the valley of Kedron."[23]

However, Gel must be located together with "the Beautiful Gates, where the Holy of Holies lay." The only river which is suited to this location (if we understand that the place was at the Holy of Holies and not at the gate opposite to it; see comm. below) would have been a stream that is supposed to break forth in messianic times from under the Holy of Holies and flow towards the east (Ezek 47:1–12; Zech 14:8; *Masekhet Kelim* [*Bet HaMidr.* 88–91]). The Beautiful Gate was most probably located on the east side of the Temple mount as well (see comm. below).

Alternatively, if the last clause ("and sat at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of Holies laid") refers to Abimelech and the two are not identical (on

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[22] See Merkur, "Visionary;" Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 107; Idel, *Kabbalah*, 76–77.

[23] James, "Baruch," lv. Cf. also the late *Words of Gad the Seer*, where the first vision took place near Cedron too. This composition with a controversial dating has additional similarities to *3 Bar*, like Sammael, vision of luminaries and animals. See Schechter, "Notes" and Abrahams, "Words," both arguing for medieval dating, and Bar-Ilan, "Date," dating it to early first centuries CE.

this issue see comm. below), Gel may be an unidentified or fictitious Mesopotamian river, such as Chebar of Ezek 1:1 or Gur of *Apoc. Abr.* 2:9, and the whole vision would then take place in Babylon (in accord with the tradition of *1 Baruch* witnessing Baruch's descent to Babylon). Both lamenting (Ps 137:1) and revelations on Babylonian rivers are well attested: Ezekiel receives a vision on the river Chebar (Ezek 1:1,3; 3:23; 10:22), while Daniel does so "beside the Ulai River" (Dan 8:2) and on the Tigris (10:4). On the basis of these examples, there emerged a view in rabbinic literature that outside the Land of Israel revelations are possible only "in pure places," i.e., near rivers (*Tan.* Bo 5; cf. *Bate Midr.* 2.13.4), while according to *Mekhilta* (Bo, Intr.) revelations take place only in the Holy Land (cf. *b. Moed Q.* 25a; *Gen. Rab.* 74.1).

Whether in Palestine or elsewhere, rivers or other water reservoirs appear often in the setting of apocalyptic visions. In addition to the passages in Ezekiel and Daniel mentioned above, see Dan 7:2–3; *1 En.* 13:7; *2 Bar.* 21:1; *T. Levi* 2:7; cf. also *4 Ezra* 11–13.[24] Besides purity, there may be an additional factor which contributed to the attachment of such significance to the rivers. It may be connected to certain mystical techniques involving the act of looking into the water, as mentioned in *Reuyot Yehezkel*, where "Ezekiel was standing on the river Chebar looking down at the water and seven heavens were opened to him and he saw the Glory of the Holy One." Prophetic vision is compared to looking into mirrors in *Lev. Rab.* 1.14; *b. Yeb.* 49b. Such practices are attested also in other Hellenistic cultures.[25]

When {also} Abimelech was saved in Agrippa's estate. This is an allusion to the story of Abimelech (Ebed Melech) the Ethiopian – a character from Jer 38:7–13; 39:15–18 who was promised by God to be spared in Jer 39:16–17 – as is known from *4 Bar.* 3:9–5:30, where he is said to have fallen asleep in the estate of Agrippa at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and not to have awakened for sixty-six years.[26] Abimelech does not appear anywhere else in our apocalypse and has no discernable function in the narrative. Moreover, it is not fully clear which of the two persons mentioned (Baruch or Abimelech) is the subject of the last clause of the

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[24] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 115.

[25] "Water-divination of this sort, using a vessel filled with water (often with oil added) as a mirror in which the medium can see divine images, seems to have been common enough in the ancient world. Greek magical papyri from Egypt give several prescriptions for it, and there is evidence that some Romans practiced it around the beginning of the Christian era" (Halperin, *Faces*, 231)

[26] Cf. a variant of the same story in the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*.

sentence: καὶ οὗτος ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πύλας ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια "and *he* sat at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of Holies lay." Either figure could be the referent for Gk οὗτος, but the latter would be preferable. This reference might have been due to the fact that *3 Baruch* was composed as a continuation of *4 Baruch*, or that *3 Baruch* (or at least its title) was somehow posterior to *4 Baruch*.[27] However, in *4 Baruch* we face similar problems: (1) until the beginning of the third chapter, Baruch is the only companion of Jeremiah; (2) in 3:12 the prophet asks God, how he can spare Abimelech the Ethiopian (who does not appear in the narrative before) from the sight of Jerusalem's destruction; (3) in 3:18 Baruch again is mentioned as the only one who accompanies the prophet, while in 3:21–22 Jeremiah gives orders to Abimelech; (4) in 7:25–27 Baruch (and not Abimelech as in 3:12) is spared from having to see the destruction. The confusion between the two figures led Robinson to conclude that "the figure of Baruch is an intrusion here."[28]

The problems of both books might be solved if we assume that both texts go back to a common tradition identifying both characters, as it is found in a tannaitic midrash:

> "And Abimelech [Ebed Melech] the Ethiopian has heard …" [Jer 38:7]. Was he an Ethiopian slave? [No,] he was Baruch, son of Neria. As an Ethiopian differs by the color of his skin, so Baruch son of Neria differed by his deeds from all other courtiers, therefore he is called "Ethiopian." (*Sifre*, Num 99 [Behaalotekha 41];

See also *b. Moed Q.* 16b; *Pesiq. R.* 26; *Pirqe R. El.* 53; *Abot R. Nat.* B 43.122; *Sifre Z.* 12.[29] Abimelech, as well as Baruch (according to *2 Bar.* 76:2), is among those who entered Paradise alive or "never tasted death" (*Derekh Erets Zut.* 1 (end); *Gen. Rabbati*, Haye Sarah [24.34]; cf. *2 Alphabet of Ben Sira* 28b; *Yalk.* 2.367).

The whole situation is very similar to the identification of another visionary, Ezra, with another biblical figure, Salathiel (Shealtiel of Ezek 3:2; 5:2; Neh 12:1) in the very opening of the apocalypse in *4 Ezra* (3:1). This opening also sets a location of a visionary after the destruction of Jerusalem: "In the thirtieth year after the fall of our City, I Salathiel, who am also called Ezra, was in Babylon …" Cf. also identification of Ezra with Malachi (*Tg.* Mal 1:1; *b. Meg.* 15a) and other persons bearing two names: "Daniel … who was named Balteshazzar" (Dan 4:5), "Saul who was also Paul" (Acts 13:9).

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[27] Thus James, "Baruch," liv-lv.
[28] Robinson, "4 Baruch," 417.
[29] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6.412

The proto-text of *3 Baruch* might have lacked the word καί "and, also": ὅτε {καὶ} Ἀβιμελὲχ ἐπὶ Αγροίππα τὸ χωρίον τῇ χειρὶ θεοῦ διεφυλάχθη "when {also} Abimelech was saved in the Agrippa's estate by the hand of God." The verse was built according to a common model of biblical parallelism, mentioning two names of the same person; cf. "Do not fear O Jacob, do not be dismayed, O Israel" (Jer 46:27), "Who is this David, who is this son of Jesse" (1 Sam 25:10), etc.: "A revelation of Baruch, who is weeping …, when Abimelech was saved …"

Thus the long dream of Baruch-Abimelech in *4 Baruch* might be a revelatory one. Revelations are often obtained in dreams (e.g., Gen 15:12; *1 En.* 13; *4 Ezra* 3:1 and 5:14; *T. Levi* 2:5). On the vision of *3 Baruch* as a non-physical ascent, probably a dream, see comm. to 17:3G.

T:2G. *In Agrippa's estate* (ἐπὶ Ἀγροίππα τὸ χωρίον). The toponym is known only from the Abimelech story in *4 Baruch* (3:15; 5:5; interchanges with "vineyard" in 3:10). The name is obviously anachronistic for the First Temple period. Attempts to identify "Agrippa's estate" with known locations have been quite arbitrary. Thus Rendell Harris identified it with Solomon's Gardens and Etham of Josephus: "There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant. It is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; there he [Solomon] used to go out in the morning, sitting on high [in his chariot.]" (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.7.3; cf. Eccl 2:8).[30] Similarly, see Kohler's identification of it with the parks of Agrippa (*Bell.* 5.142–183; cf. *Ant.* 19.326–327)[31] and Herzer's suggestion that it refers to "the plain of the king" (2 Sam 18:18; *Ant.* 7.243).[32]

Beautiful Gates, where the Holy of Holies lay (τὰς ὡραίας πύλας ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια). Revelation experience in the Temple setting is known, e.g., from Luke 1:10–22 (Zechariah's vision); Acts 22:17–21 (Paul's vision); *t. Sot.* 13.5–6 (cf. Josephus, *Bell.* 1.69; *Ant.* 13.299–300); *Hekh. Rabbati* 13–23 (##198–250; Nehunyah b. ha-Qanah's ascent in a trance). Temple gates and the Holy of Holies – although separately – are the places of Baruch's lament and revelation, respectfully, in *2 Baruch*: "I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the Temple, and I lamented with the following lamentation over Zion …" (*2 Bar.* 10:5) and "I will only go unto

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30 Harris, *Rest*, 12.

31 Kohler, "Pre-Talmudic," 409.

32 Herzer, *4 Baruch*, 68–69. See also a further discussion of the location in ibid., 69–70.

the Holy of Holies to inquire of the Mighty One concerning you [the people] and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination: and after these things I will return to you. And I, Baruch, went to the Holy Place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept" (*2 Bar.* 34–35:1). An alternative location for Baruch's revelation (also following a lament) appears in *4 Baruch*: first "Baruch put dust on his head and sat [it is not designated where] and wept this lamentation saying, 'Why was Jerusalem made desolate?'" (*4 Bar.* 4:7), and then he went outside the city and "remained sitting in a tomb while the angels came to him and elaborated to him all the things that the Lord would reveal to him through them" (*4 Bar.* 4:12).

Does *3 Baruch* conflate two different locations of *2 Baruch*, or alternatively do all topographic references in *3 Baruch* refer to the same location? It is possible to reconcile all three conflicting topographic references of *3 Baruch*: the Beautiful Gate, the Holy of Holies, and the river Gel (understood as corrupted Kedron; see above). "The Temple gate called Beautiful" (τήν θύραν … τήν λεγομένην ὡραίον) is known from Acts 3:2.[33] Josephus refers to one of the Temple gates as larger and more adorned than the others:

> There was one gate, that outside the Sanctuary [ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεώ], which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only plated with silver and gold … The magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the gate of the Sanctuary [ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνοιγομένη τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πύλης], was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits; and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other (*Bell.* 5.5.3).

Gk ναός/νεώς frequently refers to the Sanctuary or even specifically to the Holy of Holies in LXX and NT (as well as to inner shrines in pagan temples in various sources).[34] Moreover, the Sanctuary (Heb דביר, היכל) and the Holy of Holies within it frequently metonymically interchange in the literature of the period. Gk ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεώ "outside the Sanctuary" must imply "beside, against" since all gates are outside the Sanctuary. The same gate must be the subject of the Mishna: "the eastern gate which is against the Holy of Holies" שער המזרח שהוא מכוון כנגד בית קדשי הקדשים); *m. Ber.* 9.5; probably identical to the gate of Nicanor; see *m. Mid.* 1.4; *t. Yoma* 2.4). The

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[33] On other possible meanings, possibly with reference to "hour" or to "light," see Taylor, "Gate."

[34] See *LSJ*, 1160; *LPG* 897.

gate is mentioned in the context of the prescription "not to act frivolously against the eastern gate which is against the Holy of Holies" (לא יקל אדם את ראשו כנגד …). The reason for such precaution is clear from *m. Mid.* 2.4, which says that the inner space of the Sanctuary could be directly seen from the east (from the Mount of Olives) through an enfilade of gates.[35] Today there may be also some archeological corroboration for this, if we presume that the Holy of Holies was located not under the current Dome of the Rock but under the smaller cupola of Qubbat el-Arwah (Dome of the Spirits) or Qubbat el-Alouah (Dome of the Tablets): "This cupola is on a line directly perpendicular to the midpoint of the famous *Golden Gate,* itself shown recently to be above an earlier gateway,"[36] which might have been the Beautiful Gate.[37] The eastern gate close to the Sanctuary must have existed also in the First Temple period; cf. "entrance of the eastern gate of the House of the Lord [understood as Sanctuary]" (Ezek 10:19).

There is also another (less convincing) way to reconcile "gate" with "Holy of Holies." On the one hand, James suggests that these words, "where the Holy of Holies lay", "allude to the hiding of the sacred vessels" narrated in *4 Bar.* 3.[38] This suggestion however, requires an emendation: ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ {τῶν ἁγίων} ἅγια "where the holy things [קדשים] lay." This motif is also known from 2 Macc 2:4–8; *2 Bar.* 6:7; *4 Bar.* 3; probably *Apoc. Abr.* 27:3. 2 Macc 2 also mentions some "gate" (θύρα) closing the cave containing the Temple vessels. On the other hand, there is a Rabbinic tradition that the Temple gates were hidden: "All Temple vessels were exiled to Babylon … but the Temple gates were hidden on their own place, as it is said: 'Her gates have sunk into the ground' (Lam 2:9)" (*Tan.* Behaalotekha 9); cf. *b. Sotah* 9a: "The enemy had no power over the things made by David, as it is written: 'Her gates have sunk into the ground.'"

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[35] Fore more recent attempts to identify the gate of Acts 3, see Cowton, "Alms;" Taylor, "Gate."

[36] Kaufman, "Where"; Ritmeyer, Kaufman, "Where," 52–59, 72 and 60–61, 69.

[37] Garner, "Jerusalem."

[38] James, "Baruch," liv.

B. Prologue (1)

Greek	Slavonic
1 O woe! I, Baruch, was weeping in my mind unceasingly about the people, and that Nebuchadnezzar the king had been permitted by God to destroy his city, saying,	1When Nebuchadnezzar the king captured Jerusalem and enriched Babylon, then I, Baruch, wept unceasingly and said,
2 "Lord,	2 "O Lord, in what way was Nebuchadnezzar the king righteous? Why did you not spare your city Jerusalem,
why have you set on fire your vineyard, and laid it waste?	why have you set on fire your vineyard, and laid it waste?
Why have you done this?	What have you done, O Lord?
And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but delivered us to such nations, so that they upbraid saying, 'Where is their God?'"	
3 And behold, as I was weeping and saying such things,	3 And behold, as I was weeping,
I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me,	and behold, an angel of the Lord appeared before me and told me,
"Understand,	"Be silent,
O human being, a beloved man,	O his beloved man!
and do not care so much for the salvation of Jerusalem,	It came to Jerusalem to accept this.
since thus says the Lord God, the Almighty,	But thus says the Lord, the Almighty,
4 for he sent me before you, in order to make known and to show to you	4 and he sent me before you, in order to tell you
all [the things] of God,	all the mysteries of God,
5 for your prayer	5 for your tears and your voice
was heard before him,	
and entered into the ears of the Lord God."	entered the ears of the Almighty God.

6 And when he had said these things to me, I became silent. And the angel told me: "Cease to provoke God,	
	6 But tell me that you will neither add or omit [anything]
and I will show you other mysteries,	and I will tell you great mysteries
greater than these."	which no man had seen.
7 And I Baruch said,	7 And I Baruch said to the angel,
"As the Lord God lives, if you show me, and I hear	"As the Lord God lives, if you show me, and I hear,
a word from you,	
I will not continue speaking.	I will neither subtract nor add a word.
	If I do omit,
God shall add to me a judgment on the Day of Judgment,	the Lord shall add to me a judgment on the Day of Judgment!"
if I say more!"	
8 And the angel of hosts told me, "Come, and I will show you the mysteries of God."	

NOTES

1:1G. *Was weeping in my mind unceasingly about the people* (κλαίων ἐν τῇ συνέσει μου καὶ ἔχων περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ). Here and below *praesens historicum* is translated by past tenses.

In my mind (ἐν τῇ συνέσει μου). Translated contextually, although the combination ἐν τῇ συνέσει means almost exclusively "in the understanding" (cf. LXX Job 39:17; Jer 28:15, where it renders Heb **בינה**).

About (ἔχων περί). Usually translated contextually and with emendation: "{and} concerning the people." Ryssel assumed here a corruption and proposed to add λύπην "grieve" or emend ἔχων to πενθῶν "grieving."[1] Alternatively, if a Hebrew *Vorlage* is presumed, this might be a misunderstanding of Heb **נהייתי** meaning both "be" and "be exhausted," like in Dan 8:27: **ואני דניאל נהייתי ונחליתי** "and I Daniel was exhausted and became ill."[2] In this case, the last part of the clause has to be read "and exhausted because [a regular meaning for περί] of the people." Gk ἔχω περι may mean also "be engaged

[1] Ryssel, "Baruch," 448.
[2] Hartom, "Baruch," 410.

with" ("engaged with the people").[3] The new reading "weeping … unceasingly" is based on the suggestion that we deal here with the Greek construction of *praesens* and a participle ἔχων adding "a notion of duration to the present action" (here of κλαίων).[4] Gk περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ could mean either "about the people," or "for the sake of the people," or "before ["in the sight of" or "ahead"] the people" (as Heb **לפני העם**; cf. Exod 17:5; Deut 3:28; and *passim*; cf. Baruch's communication with people in *2 Bar.* 31–34; 77).

1:3. *O human being, a beloved man / O his beloved man* (ὦ ἄνθρωπε ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν / **мужу желанию его**). Biblical Gk ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν, lit. "a man of desires," goes back to Heb **איש חמודות** (cf. MT and LXX in Dan 10:11,19 and 9:23). Theod Dan 8:17 has the same Greek phrase referring to Heb **בן אדם** "human being," lit. "son of man" of MT, which corresponds to the first part of the Gk addressing here (ἄνθρωπε). S has the same calque **мужу желанию** supplemented with pron. **его** "his" unattested in this combination in other Greek or Slavonic versions of the book Daniel.[5]

1:3 and 5S. *Almighty.* CS **вьседрьжитель** from Gk παντοκράτορ, lit. "the one who governs over all."

1:4. *He sent me before you*. πρὸ προσώπου σου / **прѣдъ лицемь твоимь**. One of many biblicisms found also in LXX, lit. "before your face" (Heb **לפניך**).

1:5S. *Voice*. **гласъ**. Only S has here a biblicism meaning "sound of voice" (Gk φωνή; Heb **קול**).

1:5. *Entered into the ears*. Biblicism (cf. Heb **בא באזני** in Ps 18:7).

1:7. *As the Lord God lives*. Biblical formula of oath (Heb **חי ה'**; cf. Judg 8:19 and *passim*).

If you show me, and I hear a word from you / if you show me, and I hear. ἐὰν ὑποδείξῃς μοι καὶ ἀκούσω παρά σου λόγον / **аще покажеши ми и слышѫ**. "Show" (ὑποδείξῃς / **покажеши**) without an object corresponds to the biblical usage of **הראה** without *acc. rei* (cf. Ezek 40:3; Esth 4:8), while "I hear a word from you" (ἀκούσω παρά σου λόγον) in G might go back to a biblical idiom **דבר שמע** "hear anything." If *3 Baruch* had a Hebrew original, it might have looked like this: **אם תראני ואשמע ממך דבר**.

1:7G. *I will not continue speaking. God shall add to me a judgment on the Day of Judgment, if I say more*. οὐ μὴ προσθήσω ἔτε λαλῆσαι προσθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως κρίσιν ἐμοί ἐὰν λαλήσω τοῦ λοιποῦ. Lit. "I will not *add* speaking" (προσθήσω λαλῆσαι) corresponding to the following "God shall *add* …" (προσθήσει ὁ θεός). The word-play is built of two elements: a calque of the biblical Heb **יסף** sq. inf.: **אוסיף לדבר** "I will continue speaking"(cf., e.g., 2 Sam 7:20 and *passim*) and perhaps (with a slight emendation) an elliptic oath formula … **כה יוסיף**, known also to LXX (τάδε προσθείη), lit. "thus shall God add [to my punishment]"; cf., e.g., 1 Sam 14:44; Ruth 1:17. Hebrew: **אם אוסיף לדבר כה יוסיף ה'**.

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[3] See *LSJ* 750/1, s.v. B.4.

[4] See *LSJ*, 750/2, s.v. B.IV.2.

[5] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 5.

COMMENTARY

In the prologue to the vision, similarly to other apocalypses attributed to Baruch, the destruction of the First Temple serves as a way of referring to the issues connected to the destruction of the Second Temple.[6] The fact that the prologue reflects the author's concern for the fate of Jerusalem – a motif highly atypical for Christian literature – may count in favor of a Jewish provenance of the book.[7] Jean-Claude Picard and Daniel Harlow treat in detail the coherence of the prologue and the subsequent revelation, which – according to Harlow's view – provide "an indirect, yet sustained and coherent response to the problem of Jerusalem's fate."[8] We will address possible connections between the sections of the book, each separately, in the comments below. A corroboration and interesting parallel to the connection between the lament on the destruction of Jerusalem and images central for our apocalypse (vine tree, the sun, the moon, rain and dew) is found in the fragment of Baruch's lamentation in *2 Baruch*:[9]

2 Bar. 10:10–12[10]	*3 Baruch*
And you, O *vine*, why further do you give your wine, for an offering will not again be made from there in Zion, nor will first-fruits again be offered.	4:8/6–17
And you, O heavens, withhold your *dew*, and do not open the treasuries of *rain*.	10:9
And you, O *sun* withhold the light of your rays.	6–8
And you, O *moon*, extinguish the multitude of your light. For why should light rise again where the light of Zion is darkened.	9

The combination and even the order of the images are strikingly similar, while the thesis in the two works is opposite: according to *2 Baruch* all these are no more relevant after the destruction of Jerusalem, whereas *3 Baruch* adduces them in response and consolation to the tragedy. If a direct polemic is implied, this conceptual parallelism may count in favor of the posteriority of *3 Baruch* to *2 Baruch*.

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[6] Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 87.

[7] See the detailed analysis of Harlow (*Baruch*, 90–96).

[8] Harlow, *Baruch*, 109. See Picard "Observationes," 92–98; idem, "Autre mystères," 23–35; Harlow, *Baruch*, 29–31; 109–163. Cf. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 302–303; Collins, "Genre Apocalypse," 538–540.

[9] Cf. a similar list of natural phenomena in *4 Ezra* 7:38–42 in the eschatological context (cited in comm. to 1:7).

[10] All italics in quotes hereafter are mine.

1:1S. *Captured Jerusalem and enriched Babylon.* The same opposition (absent in G), mentioning the prosperity of Babylon appears also in *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*:

> Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against you, Babylon, "If you had prospered, and Zion had dwelt in her glory, yet the grief to us had been great that you should be equal to Zion. But now, lo! The grief is infinite, and the lamentation measureless. For lo! You are prospered, and Zion desolate." (*2 Bar.* 11:1–2)

> "I was troubled as I lay on my bed, and my thoughts welled up in my heart, because I saw the desolation of Zion and the wealth of those who lived in Babylon." (*4 Ezra* 3:1–2)

1:2S. *In what way was Nebuchadnezzar the king righteous?* Cf. "Are the deeds of those who inhabit Babylon any better? Is that why she has gained dominion over Zion?" (*4 Ezra* 3:28; cf. 5:28–30). The moral qualities of the destroyers of Jerusalem are discussed also in Isa 10:5–8; Jer 25:8–14; 50:17–18; 33–34.[11]

1:2. *Why have you set on fire your vineyard, and laid it waste / Why did you not spare your city Jerusalem, where is your glorious vineyard.* Compare references to the desolation in *2 Bar.* 3:5; 5:1; *4 Ezra* 3:27–36; 5:28–30 and questions on its reason (*2 Bar.* 3:5; *4 Bar.* 4:7; *4 Ezra* 5:28).

"Vineyard" is a common biblical epithet for Jerusalem and Israel. For Jerusalem see Isa 27:2; Ezek 15:3–6; for Israel – Isa 5:1–7; Jer 2:21; Ezek 17:6–10; 19:10–24; Hos 10:1; Ps 80:8–16.[12] The reason as explained by *4 Ezra* 5:23–27 is that each is chosen among its kind:

> O sovereign Lord, from every forest of the earth and from all its trees you have chosen one vine [Lat *vinea*, also "vineyard"], … and from all the cities that have been built you have consecrated Zion for yourself, … and from all the multitude of peoples you have got for yourself one people.

Ezek 15:3–6 also uses the metaphor in the context of the Destruction:

> What is the vine tree more than any tree, or than a branch which is among the trees of the forest? … As the vine tree among the trees of the forest, which I have given to the fire for fuel, so will I give the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

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[11] Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 75.

[12] Harlow, *Baruch*, 88, n. 36. Note also the parable of the vineyard in Matt 21:33–46, Mark 12:1–12; Luke 20:9–19; cf. *Sifre Deut.* 312; *Tanh. B.* Qedoshim 6; *Exod. Rab.* 30.17.

Isa 5:7 was introduced to the same context by the Rabbis:

> If a man has a vineyard, and robbers will come and cut it, who should be consoled, the vineyard or the vineyard's owner? You are my vineyard, "a vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel" [Isa 5:7], and Nebuchadnezzar came and destroyed it and exiled you and burned my house (*Pesiq. R.* 29.12).

In the context of the destruction of Jerusalem Jeremiah consoles Baruch for the fact that he did not receive the prophetic spirit: "Baruch, there is no need of a fence, when there is no vineyard; of what use is the shepherd, if there is no flock" (*Mek.* Bo [Intr.]); cf. *Midr. Zut.* Cant 8.9; *Midr. Zut.* Lam 1.17.

Although a negative, or at least ambiguous, account of the vine (planted by Satanael, a tree of deception cursed by God) plays a central role in *3 Baruch* (see ch. 4), Israel is called "vineyard" in a positive context here ("your [God's] vineyard" of G; "glorious vineyard" of S). Although "vineyard" might serve also as a parable of Israel's degeneracy, like in the "song" on the vineyard which does not thrive despite the care bestowed upon it (Isa 5; the same chapter contains condemnations of wine abuse in 5:11 and 22), it is nevertheless difficult to accept Picard's creative hypothesis on isomorphic connections between the two images, argued in anthropologic and psychoanalytic terms.[13] Rather, they may indicate a compilative nature of *3 Baruch* or, more probably, the inconsistent use of very common and polysemantic imagery.

1:2G. *Where is their God?* This is a citation of Pss 79:10; 115:2; Joel 2:17; Mic 7:10, absent in S. The heavenly tour following the prologue might be an attempt to receive an answer to this question. The probable answer may be that although God is unseen (since Baruch, in contrast to other visionaries, does not see him), he manifests himself in his wonderous creations.[14]

1:3. *Beloved man.* See Notes ad loc.

1:3S. *Be silent.* CS **оумлъчи.** G has in its place more neutral σύνες "understand." Cf. 1:7G: "I will not continue speaking." The Slavonic word as well as its biblical Hebrew and Greek equivalents **דמם** and σιγᾶν may mean both "be silent" and "be still." The call to silence may be interpreted in different ways:

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[13] Picard. "Observations," 96–98. See argumentation of Harlow, *Baruch*, 29–31; 128–130.

[14] Thus Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 151–152; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 302.

1. It may be an order to stop mourning. At the end of the vision Baruch has to ask for a special permission in order to weep for the sinners: "Order me, Lord, to weep on their behalf" (16:9S; probably not original). The identical God's order "be silent" appears also in *T. Job* 33:1–2 (7:34–35) and means there "stop lamenting":

> And when Eliphaz had for a long time *cried and lamented*, while all the others joined him, so that the commotion was very great, I said to them, "*Be silent* and I will show you my throne, and the glory of its splendor."

In *Vita* 41:1–42 the angel Michael orders Seth, whose request cannot be satisfied, in a very similar formula: "Seth, *O man of God*, do not weep" (cf. "Be silent, *O his beloved man*" of *3 Baruch*).

The rejection of mourning can have different motives:

1.1. It may imply consolation, as in the following order to Jeremiah:

> "Restrain your voice from weeping and your eyes from tears, for there is a reward for your work," says the Lord, "They shall come back from the land of the enemy, there is hope for your future, says the Lord, your children shall come back to their own country" (Jer 31:16–17).

See *T. Job* 33:1–2 referred to above and also "Be not weary, for when the day of trouble and heaviness comes, others will weep and be sorrowful, but you will be merry and have abundance" (*4 Ezra* 2:27). The call to be silent and the motif of silence are found frequently with the promise of the rebuilding of the Temple. The exact wording may be found in the following verses:

> And the Lord shall inherit Judah his portion in the Holy Land, and shall choose Jerusalem again. *Be silent* [Heb חס, Gk εὐλαβείσθω; also in the verses below], O all flesh, before the Lord, for he is raised up out of his holy habitation. (Zech 2:16–17)
>
> But the Lord is in his holy Temple: *be silent* before him all the earth. (Hab 2:20)
>
> *Be silent* at the presence of the Lord God: for the day of the Lord is at hand. (Zeph 1:7).[15]

In *3 Baruch*, which contains no promises of the restoration, only the subsequent vision may serve as a consolation. Comparison with an analogous situation in Christian tradition may be productive. Similar to *3 Baruch* the mourning over Jesus (the "temple of whose body" was destroyed; John 2:21) is interrupted by a revelation in John 20:11–17. In another

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[15] Torresan, "Silence."

Christian text referring to the same event the rationale to stop the mourning is stated explicitly: "as they mourned and wept, the Lord showed himself unto them and said to them, 'For whom do you weep? Weep no more, I am he whom you seek'" (Ethiopic *Ep. Apostles* 10), i.e., there is no real reason for a lament. The same logic may be in effect in *3 Baruch*: the mourning over the earthly Temple is interrupted by the vision of the heavenly Temple.

Moreover, there may be an additional link between the rejection of mourning and the scenes of the celestial liturgy. The Oil Reward as the climax of the vision (ch. 15) may be regarded as a demonstrative breaking of the mourning rites,[16] which according to Jewish customs included abstinence from anointing (2 Sam 14:2; *b. Moed. Q.* 21a).

1.2. An order to cease weeping may also imply a call to stop provoking God by complaining about God's decision to destroy Jerusalem, as in the next command below: "I became silent. And the angel told me: 'Cease to provoke God'" (1:6G). R. Akiba was committed to rejoice despite the destruction of Jerusalem and objected to the sages' urging him: "while our holy city lies in ruins, weep, do not laugh" (*Sifre Deut* 43). Cf. the Rabbinic principle: "a man must bless [God] for bad things as he blesses for good ones" (*m. Ber.* 9.5).[17] Ben Sira, although prescribing public mourning ("avoid not those who weep, but mourn with those who mourn" (Sir 7:34), calls for moderation in grief: "it will not help him [the deceased], but will harm you" (38:21; 17–23; cf. *Ps.-Phoc.* 97; *Syr. Men.* 458–467). Negative statements about sadness and excessive mourning are found in Rabbinic writings: God's presence (Shekhina) does not descend into an atmosphere of sadness (*b. Shab.* 30b); there can be no sorrow in the presence of God (*b. Hag.* 5b); a man should not pray in a sorrowful mood (*b. Ber.* 31a). Cf. a Rabbinic interpretation of Jer 22:10:

> "Weep not for the dead and do not bemoan him." "Weep not" – that is, not more than sufficient; and "do not bemoan him" – that is, not more than prescribed … the Holy One, blessed be He, says: "Be not more merciful than I am." (*b. Moed* Q. 27b)

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[16] For oil closely associated with joy see Ps 45:8; Prov 27:9. The same with wine, moderate use of which is not opposed in ch. 4, while it does fall out of use in certain circles mourning the Temple after its destruction (*t. Sot.* 15.11).

[17] The saying is immediately followed by the prescription "not to act thoughtlessly against the eastern gate which is against the Holy of Holies," which is exactly the location of Baruch's lament (see comm. to T:2 above).

2. The silence may also, on the contrary, be part of a mourning setting (as, e.g., in Job 2:13). In *Jeremiah* and *Lamentation* it is connected to the mourning over the Temple:

> Assemble yourselves, and let us enter into the defended cities, and let us be *silent* there: for the Lord our God hath put us to *silence*, and given us water of gall to drink, because we have sinned against the Lord (Jer 8:14)
>
> The elders of the daughter of Zion sit on the ground in *silence* (Lam 2:10)
>
> Let him sit alone in *silence* when he has laid it on him; let him put his mouth in the dust, there may yet be hope (Lam 3:28–29)

In some of the fragments above, silence may indicate restraint from prayer or from mentioning God's name (as in Amos 6:10; 8:3) or from prophecy (as in Ezek 3:26: "I will make your tongue stick to the roof of your mouth so that you will *be silent* and unable to rebuke them;" cf. 23:21–22 and 24:25–27).[18] See also Am 5:13. In some traditions, God, Metatron, and angels themselves weep and bewail the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer 13:17; *y. Ber.* 59a; *Pesiq. R.* 29.12; *Lam. Rab.* Intr. 24; etc.).

3. A call for silence might have some kind of cultic or ritual background (as it has probably in Zech 2:17 and Hab 2:20 above; cf. also Ps 62:1; *Ep. Arist.* 92 and 95; Rev 8:1; *T. Adam* 1.12; *m. Tamid* 5.1–6). Mary Dean-Otting supposes that it might be a reflection of Hellenistic mysterial practices, where silence is a part of the ritual setting;[19] see comm. to "mysteries" in 1:6. In the *Mithras Liturgy* 2.21–22 the initiate cries: "Silence, silence, silence, the sign of the living, incorruptible God."[20] On the role of silence in initiations into the mysteries, see Plutarch, *De garrul.* 505–6; Hippolytus *Ref.* 5.8.39. Cf. *Exod. Rab.* 29 (end):

> When God revealed the Torah, no sparrow chirped, no bird flew, no ox lowed; the heavenly Ofanim moved not; the Seraphim did not chant the Sanctification; men spoke not; the sea roared not; no creature uttered a sound; and the world was silent.

Silence is also a symptom of trance during a revelation:

> he [Isaiah] became silent, and he did not see the men who stood before him, though his eyes were open. Moreover his lips were silent, and the mind of his body was taken up from him, but his breath was in him (*Asc. Isa.* 6:10–12)

Silence is an important part of the prayer experience for both Greeks (Homer, *Iliad* 9.171; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 295–97; Thucydides 6.32.1)[21]

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[18] Cf. Wilson, "Interpretation."

[19] Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 233; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 108–109.

[20] Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 6.2.21–22.

[21] Mensching, *Schweigen,* 13–21.

and Jews (cf. 1 Sam 1:13 and the variety of terminology for "keeping silent" in the Pss 32:3; 37:7; 38:3, 13–14; 39:2; 65:2; etc.).[22] For a similar tradition, see also the Georgian *Book of Adam* 6:1–2:

> While you pray, let no sound come from your mouth, for we are not worthy to open our mouths, for our lips are impure because we transgressed the commandments, concerning the food of Paradise which God had forbidden us. Rather, *be silent*, only do penitence in the water for thirty-four days with all your heart and I will do the same in the Jordan river, until God hearkens and gives us food.

In *3 Baruch* this may be connected to the concept of angelic mediation, central for this book. First, the angel might order Baruch to stop direct communication with God. From this point on, through the whole book, Baruch speaks only to *angelus interpres*. Second, his silence may be a necessary condition to enable an angelic prayer offering in the climax of the vision (chs. 12–14), since angels cannot serve while the people of Israel communicate with God: "The voice of Jacob [here 'people of Israel'], this is the voice that silences both celestial and terrestial beings" (*Gen. Rab.* 65.21; cf. angelic silence connected to the prayer activity of humans in Rev 8:1; *T. Adam* 1:12 [esp. Syriac]; *b. Hag* 12b).[23]

Gnostic writings are preoccupied with "silence" in various meanings. Besides the ideas of the deity as the "Silent One" and the Dyad of the Ineffable (ἄῤῥητον) and the Silence (Σιγήν; see Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1; cf. *CH* 1.30; 31; 10.5; cf. comm. to "ineffable" in T:1), the pious must be silent in various senses:

> He is perfect, the invisible God to whom one speaks in silence … What is the way to sing a hymn through it [silence]? … I am silent, my father. I want to sing a hymn to you while I am silent. … For it is right before God that we keep silent about what is hidden. Return to [praising], my son, and sing while you are silent. Ask what you want in silence … It is advantageous from now on, that we keep silent in a reverent posture. Do not speak about the vision from now on (*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*; *Marsanes*; *Gospel of the Egyptians*; *passim*).[24]

Here, as in regard to the silent prayer, keeping silence on the things revealed is also mentioned.

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[22] Cf. Gillmayr-Bucher, "Schweigen"; Spieckermann, "Schweigen"; Horst, "Silent."

[23] Cf. *Hekh. Rabbati* (ms Oxford 1531; #173). Cf. Bauckham, *Climax*, 70–83.

[24] Cf. Ignatius of Antioch: "It is better for a man to be silent and be [a Christian], than to talk and not to be one." "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." "He who possesses the word of Jesus, is truly able to hear even his very silence, that he may be perfect, and may both act as he speaks, and be recognized by his silence" (*Eph.* 15). See Chadwick, "Silence." For different meanings of silence, see also Knohl, *Sanctuary.*

4. Also in *3 Baruch* the command to be silent might have been understood as an order not to reveal the vision to others or at least not to divulge "mysteries" to "uninitiated" (see comm. to "mysteries" below). Apocalyptic mysteries are supposed to be kept (*1 En.* 9:6; 10:6; 16:3–4; 65:6; 69:15; *Apoc. Abr.* 14:4; *T. Jud* 16:4; *T. Job* 8:19; 2 Cor 12:4) or to be shared only with chosen (*1 En.* 65:11; *4 Ezra* 8:62; 12:36–38); cf. *Od. Sol.* 8:10; *Gen. Rab.* 50.9; 68.12; 78.2; etc.) or shared only *partim* (*4 Ezra* 14:26; 14:44–46). Similar statements were made by Philo:

> Thus too, being admitted into the inmost mysteries, she [i.e., the soul] will learn not to blab or babble them thoughtlessly, but to store them up and guard them in secrecy and silence. For it is written "make buried cakes" [Gen 18:6], because the sacred story that unveils to us the truth of the Uncreated and His potencies must be buried, since the knowledge of divine rites is a trust which not every comer can guard aright (*Sacr.* 15.60)

> These thoughts, ye initiated, whose ears are purified, receive into your souls as holy mysteries indeed and babble not of them to any of the profane. Rather as stewards guard the treasure in your own keeping, not where gold and silver, substances corruptible, are stored, but where lies that most beautiful of all possessions, the knowledge of the Cause and of virtue … (*Cher.* 14.48)[25]

The further advantages of silence are discussed by Philo several times, e.g., in *Somn.* 40 and *Mut.* 42. The Rabbis also limit the audience for some kinds of sacral knowledge:

> One must not discuss the Work of Creation before two students, not the Work of Chariot before one student, unless [the student] be wise and able to speculate by himself. He who speaks of the things which are before, behind, above, and below, it were better he had never been born. (*m. Hag.* 2.1)

> Just as a treasure is not revealed to every one, so also you are not allowed to discourse on the profundities of the Law except in the presence of worthy persons. (*y. Abod. Zar.* 2.8.41d)

The claim for secrecy is rare but found also in Hekhalot literature, as in *Hekh. Zutarti*, based upon Prov 25:2: "'It is the Glory of God to keep a word secret,' – so that you will not be turned out of this world." In the Gospel of Luke, Zechariah is also ordered to be silent by the angel Gabriel, although here as a punishment, a deprivation of an ability to share his revelation: "Be silent and unable to speak until the day when these things take place, because you did not believe my words, which will be fulfilled in their

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[25] Here and below the quotes from Philo are based on Colson and Whitaker's translation (Loeb edition), often revised and emended.

proper time" (Lk 1:20). Silence as a sign of penance was ordered to Eve by her husband in *Vita* 6:1.[26]

However, the interpretation above would contradict 2:4 and 17:1S (if the latter verse is original), where Baruch *is* supposed to share his knowledge with "sons of men" without any limitation mentioned.

5. A very simple meaning of a call for attention is also possible, as in "be silent and listen" of Deut 27:9 or "teach me, and I will be silent;" "be silent before me so that I may speak;" "be silent, and let me speak;" "be silent, and I will teach you wisdom" of, respectfully, Job 6:24; 13:13; 33:31; and 33:33 (all of root חרש). Cf. *Poimandres*:

> Thereon [I said]: "O Shepherd, ..., for now I am filled with great desire and long to hear; do not run off." The Shepherd said: "Keep silence, for I have not yet unrolled for you the first discourse." "Lo! I am still," I said. (*CH* 1.16)

A general encomium on silence may be found in Prov 17:28; Sir 20:5; *Monostichs of Menander* 597; see also *Syr. Men.* 311–313: "There exists nothing better than silence. Being silent is at all times a virtue."[27]

1:3G. *Salvation of Jerusalem* (σωτηρίας Ἰερουσαλήμ). The hope for restoration might be meant. The motif of earthly or heavenly restoration of Jerusalem is widely known in both Jewish and early Christian sources. However, a call "not to care so much for the salvation of Jerusalem" and Baruch's promise "not to continue speaking" (1:7) on the matter appear only in G and may be one of the later Christian interpolations typical for the Greek version. At the same time, the position may be explained also in a purely Jewish context. "Not to care so much" means either that (1) the Temple is no longer important, or (2) its destruction has some positive aspects as well, or (3) its restoration is granted.

(1) The significance of the destruction of the earthly Temple is relativized as long as the heavenly Temple continues to function (as will be shown in the subsequent vision).[28] This idea is very clearly formulated in *T. Job*

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[26] Although there may be a special reason for this: "Let not a word go forth from your mouth since we are unworthy to ask of the Lord, since our lips are unclean from the illicit and forbidden Tree."

[27] More on silence in the ancient world see Mensching, *Schweigen*; Picard, *Silence*; Casel, *Silentio*; Mortley, "Silence."

[28] Collins (*Apocalyptic*, 198–201) and Nickelsburg (*Jewish*, 299–303) agree with this interpretation.

36:3 (8:9): "My heart is not fixed on earthly things, since the earth and all that inhabit it are unstable. But my heart holds fast to heaven, because there is no upset in heaven." In the post-destruction world, prayers take the place of sacrifices and go directly to the celestial spiritualized Temple (see *3 Bar.* 11 and comm. there).

(2) The destruction of the Temple is evidence of the smooth functioning of the reward mechanism as described in chs. 12–16. This is the understanding of S: "It came to Jerusalem to accept this." Other positive aspects of the fall of the Temple may be found in dialectic conceptions of some Rabbinic sources, e.g., the destruction of "stone and wood" saved Israel from annihilation by God's wrath; see *b. Kid.* 31b; *Midr. Pss.* 79.360; 92.408 ("songs and music at the erection of the Temple, songs and music in the destruction of the Temple"); *Lam. Rab.* 4.148; the Messiah is born on the day of the destruction (e.g., *y. Ber.* 2.5a; *Lam. Rab.* 1.89–90).

(3) Restoration is promised in numerous sources. See, e.g., the dialogue of Michael and Sammael (both appear as opposing forces also in *3 Baruch*), where Michael says: "Rejoice not against me, my enemy. When I fall, I shall rise … Even if I sit in darkness owing to the destruction of the First and Second Temples, the Lord will be my light on the Day of the Messiah"[29] (*Deut. Rab.* 11.9); cf. *Petirat Moshe* 125; *2 Petirat Moshe* 379.

1:6. *Mysteries / great* [or "many"] *mysteries* (μυστήρια / таинъı мъногъı). The concept, central for *3 Baruch*, appears also in 1:4S ("all the mysteries of God;" "all [the things] of God" in G); 1:8G ("mysteries of God;" the verse is absent in S); 2:6 ("greater mysteries" in G); 5:3S ("mysteries greater than theses;" but "works greater than these" in G); 17:1S ("all the mysteries"); cf. also θαυμαστά "wonders" of 10:5G and ἄρρητα "ineffable things" of T:1G.

The collocation "mysteries of God" (as in 1:4S and 1:8G) appears in Wis 2:22 referring to retribution (see below). The same combination (Heb רזי אל) is found in Qumran texts with different meanings; see the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3.23) and the *War Scroll* (1QM 3.9 and 16.16; cf. 14.14). Some manuscripts of *2 Enoch* have a title "Book of the Mysteries of God, a revelation to Enoch." In a similar apocalyptic context it is found also in Greek *Apoc. Ezra* 1:5: "And I saw the mysteries

[29] Cf. "the Day of Judgment" in 1:7 below.

of God and His angels;" cf. "Lord, give the glory, in order that I may see your mysteries" (1:2).[30] For Rabbinic מסטורין של הקב"ה, see below.

The combination "great [or "many"] mysteries" (as in S here or similar to 2:6G) is known from *4 Ezra* in a very similar context: "the Most High has revealed many mysteries to you. For he has seen your righteous conduct, that you have sorrowed continually for your people, and mourned greatly over Zion" (10:38–39). "Many mysteries" (Lat *mysteria multa*) may in fact go back to "great mysteries" (Lat *multus* may render Heb רב with both meanings); see also *Apoc. Mos.* 34:1, where Eve, witnessing an angelic liturgy, sees "two great and fearful mysteries [μεγάλα καὶ φοβερὰ μυστήρια] before the presence of God".

Philo uses both combinations: as θεοῦ μυστήρια: "for not to all must leave be given to contemplate the mysteries of God, but only to those who are able to hide and guard them" (*Leg. All.* 2.15.57; cf. 3.1.3); "Moses, the keeper and guardian of the mysteries of the Existing One, will be one called above" (*Plant.* 6.26), so also τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια "great mysteries" distinguished of τὰ μίκρα μυστήρια "minor mysteries" (*Leg. All.* 3.33.100; *Cher.* 44.49; *Sacr.* 16.62; cf. comm. below). The terms might be borrowed from the language of the mystery cults[31] (cf. on "initiation" to mysteries in *Sacr.* 15.60; *Cher.* 14.48 in comm. to "be silent" in 1:3). Whereas minor mysteries present the indirect knowledge of God which may be achieved by practicing virtue/Law and learning of God's creation and actions, Philo's "great mysteries," the direct knowledge of God, may be obtained only through revelation.[32]

The term "mysteries" may refer either to the entire vision or to its parts.[33] It is difficult to specify a content of the Greek term μυστήρια as it is used in *3 Baruch*. It depends on the setting in which it is found. Biblical μυστήρια (Aram רזין or רזיא) refers to the future events hidden in a dream (Dan 2:8–29); cf. also נסתרות (Deut 29:28). In the *Wisdom of Solomon* it means the mechanism of retribution: "As for the mysteries of God, they [godless] knew them not, neither did they hope for a recompense of holiness nor discern the innocent souls' reward" (22:2). However, Wisdom also is "privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God" (Wis 8:4). "Mysteries are revealed unto the meek" according to Sir 3:18–20. The word is frequent in

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[30] Cf. the titles of *3 Baruch* and the *Apocalypse of Ezra*, which are also very similar (see comm. to T:1).

[31] See Sandmel, *Philo*, 143–145; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 103.

[32] Wolfson, *Philo*, 1.47–48. For an alternative interpretation see comm. to 6:3.

[33] See the survey of the term applied to *3 Baruch* in Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 102–109. Cf. the general treatment of the term in Bockmuehl, *Revelation*.

1 Enoch: it refers to the celestial secrets to be kept in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 9:6; 10:6; 16:3; cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 14; etc.); in the *Similitudes* it defines wonders of the created world to be revealed to the righteous and among them the secrets of natural phenomena:

> And there my eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and the dew, and there I saw from where they proceed in that place and from where they saturate the dusty earth. (*1 En.* 41:3–4)

See also *1 En.* 41:1; 49:2; 51:3; 52:2 and 5; 59:1–3; 63:3; 65:6, 11; 69:15. In the *Similitudes* Michael (appearing in *3 Bar.* 11 too) is the one who introduces the mysteries (69:15; 71:3–4), including "the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries." The term may also refer to post-mortem existence (*1 En.* 103:2; cf. comm. to *3 Bar* 15). The term also occurs in *4 Ezra* 10:38; 12:36, 38; 14:26; title of *2 Enoch*; *Apoc. Abr.* 14:4. In Qumran texts the term relates either to (a) a hidden future,[34] or to (b) natural phenomena (especially in *Hodayot*; "luminaries for their mysteries" in 1QH^a 9.11), or to (c) "hidden knowledge, that leads to ethical behavior" (1QS 9.18–19; 11.3–6).[35] Philo uses the word with different meanings which are sometimes very similar to those of the Qumran sources (*Leg. All.* 3.21.71; 23.100) and sometimes borrowing from the language of the mystery religions (see above). The Rabbis use the semitized form of this Greek term – מסטרין, appearing also in a combination מסטורין של הקב"ה (*Gen. Rab.* 50.9; 68.12) identical to θεοῦ μυστήρια of Philo and *3 Bar.* 1:4S and 1:8G.[36] "God reveals them only to righteous" (*Tan.* Vayira 5). See the homophonic Heb מסתרים, מסתרין designating secret places of heaven in *b. Hag.* 5b; *Lam. Rab.*, intr. 24. The angel Metatron (revealing heavenly secrets to visionaries) is called מסטורין, מסטירין in *Gen. Rab.* 5.2. "Mysteries of creation" are known to the Hekhalot literature (*Hekh. Rabbati* 6.170–171). *Hekh. Zut.* in its opening lines speaks about the revelation of "secrets of the world and the mysteries of wisdom." Note also "mysteries of wisdom" opposed to "mysteries of the world" revealed to a visionary in *3 En.* 11:1–2.

Of all the above the most appropriate for the content of our revelation are either the mechanism of retribution (taking the climactic part of the vision and probably being its main concern) as in Wis 22:2, or the angelic

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[34] Vogt, "Mysteria," 248; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 104.

[35] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 104–105; cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 519–21.

[36] See Liebermann, *Hellenism*, 119–120; Bregman, "Mishna."

liturgy (enabling this mechanism in *3 Baruch*) as in *Apoc. Mos.* 34:1, or natural phenomena as luminaries in *1 En.* 69–71; 1QH^{a} 9.11 and meteorological phenomena of *1 En.* 41:3–4.

On the problem of distinction vs. synonymy between "mysteries" and "Glory of God" in *3 Baruch* see comm. to 4:2S. See also comm. to "great and wonderful things" in 4:1.

And I will show you other mysteries, greater than these / and I will tell you great mysteries which no man had seen. "Greater mysteries" are mentioned also in 2:6G and 5:3S, where they are totally appropriate to the context, "great mysteries" – in 1:6S. Compare with *Apoc. Abr.* 9:6: "mysterious *and* great things," and see comm. to "mysteries" above. The promise contrasts the warning given to Baruch not to seek "great things" in Jer 45:5. According to James, since Baruch has yet seen nothing, the mentioning of "greater" mysteries may be either a result of a lacuna or an assimilation of 2:6G.[37] It is more probable, however, that it is a technical term like "Greater Mysteries" of Hellenistic cults as opposed to "Lesser" ones. Another possible explanation may be that a "minor" mystery is the theological problem of the fall of Jerusalem, raised in the question of 1:2,[38] as opposed to "greater mysteries" of the whole creation shown to Baruch in the subsequent vision.

1:6–7S. *You will neither add or omit [anything] … I will neither subtract nor add a word* (**ни приложиши ни оуложиши … не трѣбоуѥ не приложѫ словесе единого**).The motif and expression, well attested in early Jewish literature (e.g., Deut 4:2; 12:32; Eccl 3:14; *1 En.* 104:11; *Ep. Arist.* 311; Rev 22:18) and known in the same wording also in other Slavonic documents,[39] is absent in G. As Gaylord notes, CS **приложити** 'add' may mean also 'change.'[40] Thus, an alternative interpretation would be: "I will neither subtract nor *change* a word. If I do omit, the Lord shall *change* my judgment on the Day of Judgment." Harlow notices an irony here: the composition containing these words has obviously reworked versions. He tries to settle the contradiction: "May 1:7b reflect the attitude of a copyist on justifying the addition of material? The words 'If I do omit …' suggest that

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[37] James, "Baruch," lvi.

[38] It is among central problems for *4 Ezra*; *2 Baruch*; *4 Baruch*, *Apoc. Abr.*; see Harlow, *Baruch*, 91, n. 43.

[39] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 7.

[40] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 7.

omission is the more grievous wrong."[41] In fact, it might be an elliptic construction typical for the Bible: "If I do omit ["or add" – referring to 1:6], the Lord shall add …" The same inconsistency characterizes Josephus in the same words promising to retell the biblical narrative "neither adding nor omitting anything" (οὐδὲν προσθεὶς οὐδ' αὖ παραλιπών), and constantly violating the promise (*Ant.* 1.17).[42]

1:7. *Day of Judgment*. Contra James, the expression cannot testify for Christian provenance.[43] The wording (Gk ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως going back to Heb יום הדין or Aram יומא דדינא) known in LXX (e.g., Isa 34:8; Prov 6:34 [Heb יום נקם]; Esth 10:3) is common also for the early post-biblical literature,[44] including NT[45] and Rabbinic texts.[46] Normally, the day of a heavenly judgment of different kinds is meant (although sometimes, as in *b. Sanh.* 8a, it is just a regular "court-day"). The question is whether the universal eschatological finale or an individual one is implied. In light of the vision below – neglecting eschatology but referring to a personal afterlife – the latter might seem more probable.[47] In this case, *3 Baruch* would belong to the group of early Jewish texts which presuppose that the afterlife reward is not postponed until the last judgment but is given already at death.[48] A court of heavenly judgment is known already in Dan 7:9, 10, 22, while individual judgment procedure is found associated with a specific day not earlier than in *m. Rosh HaSh.* 1.2 ("On the New Year Day all men pass before him [the Lord] like young lambs"). The ceremony witnessed by Baruch in chs. 12–16, probably bearing certain features of the Day of Atonement service, may belong to this kind of judgment session put in a liturgic setting (see comm. to ch. 14).

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41 Harlow, *Baruch*, 40, n. 24.

42 See Inowlocki, "Neither Adding."

43 See James, "Baruch," lvi. Thus Toy, Ginzberg, "Baruch," 551.

44 Tob (Sin.) 1:18; *Pss. Sol.* 15:12; Jdt 16:17; *1 En.* 10:12 (cf. Greek *En.* 10:6; 22:13; 93:4; 97:5); *2 En.* (A) 39:2; *2 Bar.* 59:8; *4 Ezra* 7:38, 102, 104, 113; 12:34; *T. Levi* (α) 3:3; *Apoc. Ezra* 2:26–32; *Apoc. Mos.* 12:1,

45 Matt 10:15, 22, 24, 36; 2Pet 2:9; 3:7; 1 John 4:17.

46 *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 3:15; *y. Ber.* 61a.8.6; *y. Hag.* 8b.2.1; *y. Erub.* 30b.5.1; *b. Sotah* 3b; *b. Taan.* 8b; *Tan.* Vayira 3; Pequde 3; *Exod. Rab.* 23.6; etc.

47 The only another reference to the eschaton may be the "end" τέλος of 13:2G (cf. note ibid.).

48 On such documents see Bauckham, "Hell," especially p. 357; cf. idem, *Fate*. This kind of annual or lifetime verdict may be meant in ch. 15 (see comm. ibid. and in chs. 4, 10, and 14).

At the same time, the Divine judgment at the end of time[49] is more widely attested in early Jewish sources as well as in Rabbinic literature. The expression "Day of Judgment" appears frequently in the literature of the Second Temple period and almost exclusively in a universal eschatological sense.[50] An instructive parallel occurs in *4 Ezra*: it is the eschatological Day of Judgment, when all physical phenomena (almost all observed by Baruch in his vision) become irrelevant, while God's Glory (which Baruch does not see) is shown:

> The Day of Judgment will be thus: it has no sun or moon or stars, or cloud or thunder or lightning or wind or water or air, or darkness or evening or morning, or warm season [*aestas*] or spring or summer [*aestus*] or heat or winter or frost or cold or hail or rain or dew, or noon or night or dawn or shining or brightness or light, but only the splendor of the Glory of the Most High, by which all shall see what has been determined [for them]. (*4 Ezra* 7:38–42)

1:8G. *Angel of hosts* [or "of powers"] (ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων). The expression appears again in 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S (in Slavonic – in sing. **аигєлъ силъı** or even corrupted **сильнъıи** "powerful angel"). This angelic class is well attested; cf., e.g., LXX Josh 5:14 (reproducing Heb **צבא**); Greek *1 En.* 20:1; 61:10; *T. Abr.* (A) 9:3; 14:12 (Michael as "a commander-in-chief of hosts"); 2 Thess 1:7; cf. "hosts/powers" in Col 1:16; Eph 1:21; Rom 8: 38; 1 Pet 3:22. The same angel is called "archangel" in 10:1G. See another (lesser?) rank of "angels over the principalities" (Gk ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν) as attendants of humanity in 12:3G. Hughes cites Philo's reference to the "six highest Powers" known as angels (*Conf.* 34). Of them two of the highest – "Divine Logos" and "Creative Power" – may correspond respectively to Michael (identified by Philo with Logos in *Her.* 42) and angels of hosts.[51] For more on angelic classes, see comm. to 4:7S and introductory comm. to ch. 11.

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[49] Which is referred in MT as "that day" (Isa 17:7; 30:23; 38:5; Hos 2:18; Mic 2:4; 5:10; Zech 9:16; 14: 4, 6, 9), "those days" (Joel 3:1), "that time" (Jer 30:25; Zeph 3:19, 20), "the day" (Ezek 7:10; cf. Rom 13:12; Heb 10:25; 1 Thess 5:4), known also as "the Day of the Lord" (e.g., Joel 3:4 (2:31); Mal 4:23; and *passim*; cf. 1 Cor 5:5; 1 Thess 5:2 and *passim*).

[50] E.g., *1 En.* 91:15; 94:9; 98:10; 104:5; *2 Bar.* 24; *T. Abr.* (A) 10ff; *4 Ezra* 6ff; *Sifre* Deut. 307; *b. Sanh.* 91b; *b. Kid.* 40b; *Pesiq. R.* 20; *Tan. B.* 1.21; *Midr. Tannaim* 187.

[51] Hughes, "Baruch," 534.

C. Vision

I. Builders or *Abode of Demons*

Builders: First Account (2:1–3)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taken me he brought me where heaven was set,	1 And the angel of host took me and carried me where the firmament of heaven was.
and where there was a river which no one can cross, nor any alien spirit of all those that God created.	
2 And having taken me he brought me to the first heaven, and showed me a very large door.	2 And there was the first heaven and in that heaven he showed me very large doors.
And he told me, "Let us enter through it."	And the angel told me, "Let us enter through these doors,"
And we entered	And we entered
as if [borne] on wings,	
a distance of about a 30 days' journey.	about a 30 days' journey.
	He showed me means of safety.
3 And he showed me within heaven a plain.	3 And I saw a plain,
And there were men living thereon,	where men were living
with the faces of cattle,	whose faces were those of cattle,
and the horns of deer,	with the horns of deer,
and the feet of goats,	the feet of goats,
and the loins of sheep.	and the loins of sheep.

COMMENTARY

The revelation begins with the experience and visionary topography well attested in other apocalyptic works: the protagonist is brought by his guiding angel to the "river" (Oceanus surrounding earth), which prevents access to the place "where heaven was set" (a horizon, where heaven and earth meet). From there they fly into a gate of heaven (which may be one of the gates that facilitate the motion of the sun in 6:13, and thus be situated on the level of horizon) and after a long journey (which is conditioned by the extraordinary thickness of the firmament, of which we learn in 2:5) arrive at a celestial plain behind it. From this point, "Baruch's" overall experience in the lower heaven finds no precedents. The first thing he finds in heaven are composite zoomorphic beings inhabiting the celestial plain. The identification of these creatures as given in 2:7 below (the builders of the Tower of Babel) does not seem to be comprehensive. It is discussed in detail in introductory comm. to ch. 3.

2:1G. *And having taken me he brought me* (καὶ λαβών με ἤγαγέν με). This formula is used regularly for transitions from heaven to heaven (2:2; 3:1; 6:1; 8:1) and for the return to earth (17:2). The formula is attested also in *2 Enoch* (21:5); *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*; Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* (19:20–23); *Sefer Eliyahu*.[1] It must be of biblical origin; cf. Ezek 8:3; 11:1, 24, which has the same formula although in parataxis (**ותשא** … **ותבא** and **ותביאני נשאתני**) and is used in a similar context: Ezekiel is taken by a spirit (or a wind; Heb **רוח**) to celestial gates; see the comment immediately below.

2:1. *Where heaven was set / where the firmament of heaven was*. On the "foundations of heaven" see 2 Sam 22:8 (Heb **מוסדות השמים**); Job 26:11 (Heb **עמודי שמים**). The furthest ends of the earth touch the hemispheric heaven (Deut 4:32; cf. Deut 30:4; Is 13:5; Jer 49:36; Ps 19:7; Neh 1:9; cf. CAD I.240 and E.79). Enoch saw "the ends of earth whereon heaven rests, and the portals of the heaven open" (*1 En.* 31:1–2; cf. *1 En.* 17–18; etc.; *Apoc. Paul* 21; 31; and *passim*). According to Rabbinic views, heaven and earth "kiss each other" at the horizon, and between the water above and that below there are but two or three fingerbreadths (*t. Hag.* 2.5; *Gen. Rab.* 2.4). Rava bar Hana was also shown where heaven and earth meet, and there also was, although not a door, a heavenly window

[1] Bauckham, "Hell," 363.

(*b. B. Bat.* 74a). Similar to *3 Baruch* the foundations of heaven are set on the Ocean River in *Pirqe R. El.* 3.6 (see comm. below):

> Hooks of heaven are linked to the waters of the Ocean [אוקינוס], since the waters of the Ocean are between the ends of heaven and the ends of earth. And the ends of heaven are spread above the water of the Ocean, as it is written, "He sets the rafters of his lofts in the waters" [Ps 104:3]. From inside heaven is like a basket [קופתא] and it goes up like a tent …"

2:1S. *Firmament of heaven* (оутврьждение небеси). The same root as in твердь, твердьство/твердествие of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (10:8; 19:6; 19:4,7), although there the highest heavens are meant. Here it must designate a construction supporting the lowest heaven (like in *1 En.* 18:3, 5, 8, 13; 33:1), rendering Gk στερέωμα, στήριγμα (Heb רקיע). The combination as a whole is an exact equivalent of Gk τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ / Heb רקיע השמים of Gen 1:20, which is "separating water from water" (Gen 1:6). Here it probably separates the Ocean River from the heavenly waters above (on celestial waters see 4:6; 10:2).

2:1G. *A river which no one can cross* (ποταμὸς ὃν οὐδεὶς δύναται περᾶσαι αὐτόν). It must be "the river Ocean" preceding the celestial gates also in *T. Abr.* (B) 8:3. The most similar descriptions are found in the *Apocalypse of Paul*:

> And he [angel] brought me down from the third heaven, and led me into the second heaven, and again he led me to the firmament, and from the firmament he led me to the gates of heaven. And the beginning of its foundation was upon the river that washes all the earth. And I asked the angel and said, "Lord, what is this river of water?" And he told me, "This is the Ocean." And suddenly I came out of heaven. (*Apoc. Paul* 21)

> He led me to the Ocean that bears the foundations of heaven … And I went with the angel and he took me by the way of the sun setting,[2] and I saw the beginning of heaven founded upon a great river of water, and I asked, "What is this river of water?" And he told me, "This is the Ocean which compasses the whole earth about." (*Apoc. Paul* 31)

In a damaged fragment of *Apoc. Zeph.* 8 the seer, most probably, has to cross a water reservoir in order to enter the abode of the just. A "kind of a river" (ποταμώδης) separates the worlds in *Hist. Rech.* 2:6. See also "the river of fire" and "the great sea" of *1 En.* 17:6. In the first heaven there

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[2] Baruch most probably also begins his journey from the west; see comm. to 6:1 below.

is "a vast ocean, much bigger than the earthly ocean" (*2 En.* (J) 3:3).[3] In most cases these water reservoirs lie on the way from earth to heaven. In different traditions they divide earth and the dwelling place of the dead. In *Sib. Or.* 1:301 the souls of the dead cross Acheron in order to enter the realms of bliss. Ancient Babylonians believed that the dead crossed the river Hubur when entering "the great below."[4] Similarly, Josephus writes about the Essenes:

> Sharing the belief of the sons of Greece, they believe that for the virtuous souls there is reserved an abode beyond the Ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a western wind, that is perpetually blowing from the Ocean. (*Bell.* 2.155)

These writings must reflect a very ancient motif already known to the *Gilgamesh Epic* (10–11), Babylonian *Mappa Mundi* (BM, No 92687), Homer (shlield of Achilles as described in *Iliad*; cf. also *Od.* 10.513; 11.155; 24.11), and Herodotus (*Hist.* 4.36).[5]

The identification of the river of *3 Baruch* with the "upper water" (Heb **מים עליונים**) of Rabbinic tradition (*Gen. Rab.* 4.3; *b. Hag.* 15a), suggested by Ginzberg,[6] is less probable, since Baruch has not reached heaven yet. On celestial waters see comm. to 4:6 and 10:2, where this identification is more appropriate.

Alien spirit (ξένη πνοή. Lit. "alien breath." Different interpretations are possible. The understanding of this unique term may be illuminated by *1 En.* 17–19; *Hist. Rech.* (*Apoc. Zos.*) 2:9; and *Apoc. Abr.* 19–21.

Profane. Gk πνοή means 'living being'; below: οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα πνοή "no living being would be preserved" (8:6). Also here it may be a common Semitized use of the Greek word, according to a metonymic use of Syr *npš*, Heb **נפש**, **נשמה** (cf., e.g., MT and LXX in Ps 150:6). In this case the verse reads: "no one can cross, nor anyone alien." *1 Enoch* has a similar description but applied to "flesh:" "I saw the great rivers and came to the great river and to the great darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks" (*1 En.* 17:6). In the Bible the word "alien" (Heb **זר**) regularly refers either to

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[3] Cf. the "water test" before the sixth gate in Hekhalot ascents (Hekh. Zutarti ## 345; 410).

[4] Heidel, *Gilgamesh*, 172.

[5] Cf. Bietenhard, *Himmlische*, 34.

[6] Toy, Ginzberg, "Baruch."

profane Israelites (not belonging to Levites or priests; e.g., Exod 29:33; 30:33; Lev 22:10, 12, 13; Num 1:51; 17:5; 18:4) or to gentiles (e.g., Is 1:7; 25:2, 5; Jer 2:25; Ezek 11:9; Hos 7:9). Thus also here by the "alien soul/living being" a person not initiated or not worthy for revelatory experience may be meant. This could indicate a perception of the firmaments as hierarchic realms of the heavenly Temple, similar to the terrestrial Temple in that different groups were differently limited in their access to the inner spaces (see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

Wind. Another possible translation is "alien wind." This meaning is found in a very close parallel from the *History of Rechabites*, where πνοὴ ἀνέμου "blowing of wind" also cannot cross the cloud over the river locking an entrance to another world:[7] "Through me cannot pass nor a bird of this world,[8] nor a blowing of wind, not the sun itself; nor the Tempter in this world cannot pass through me" (2:9). "The four winds … that stand between heaven and earth" appear in *1 En.* 18:2–3.[9]

Spirit. The meaning of the odd combination "*alien* wind" is illuminated by the following. Although the "four winds" of *1 Enoch* 18:2–3 are defined as "pillars of heaven" (18:2), "bearing earth and the firmaments of heaven," they must be more than that:

(1) The meanings "wind" and "spirit" can be expressed by the same word in Semitic languages and in Greek (Heb רוח; Gk πνεῦμα). Gk πνεύματα lit. "spirits" could designate even specifically "angels" or "demons."[10] Note also "the east wind which rages through the world like a demon [שעיר]" in *b. B. Bat.* 25a. Although in *3 Baruch* we have πνοή instead of πνεῦμα, its use in the Semitized Greek of Jews and early Christians could be influenced by the wider semantic field of Heb רוח.[11]
(2) The pillars of wind may be angelic creatures, exactly like the "pillars of fire" explicitly identified as fallen angels in 19:10–19–1 below. Spiritual and fiery angels form a regular pair in apocalyptic descriptions (e.g., *Apoc. Abr.* 19).

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[7] James, "Baruch," lvii.

[8] Or less probably "a bird [cannot pass] out of this world" (πετεινὸν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου), cf. "the Tempter in this world" below.

[9] Cf. also a "western wind" In the abode of the virtuous souls beyond the Ocean in *Bell.* 2.155 cited below.

[10] *LPG*, 1104.

[11] See, e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.*, 1.6.1 and *PLG* 1106.

(3) Both winds-spirits and pillars seem to have a special role in transportation between earth and heaven. Ezekiel's transfer to celestial gates by a wind or a spirit (Heb רוח – Gk πνεῦμα; Ezek 8:3; 11:1, 24; etc.) is described with an almost identical expression: "the wind/spirit took me and brought me" (see comm. to "and having taken me" in 2:1G). Abraham and his guide-angel "ascended like great winds to the heaven" (*Apoc. Abr.* 15:4).[12] The winds-spirits-pillars of *1 Enoch* are mentioned as being adjacent to "the paths of the angels" (18:5) and so probably also between earth and heaven,[13] while the angelic pillars of fire are seen "descending" (18:11). Pillars as vehicles between heaven and earth are known to later Jewish mysticism: in the Zohar a similar image of a descending fiery pillar brings the Messiah from heaven and then takes him back (*Zohar* 2.7b); souls of the deceased ascend to the heavenly gate on a pillar (*Midr. haNeʿelam* apud *Zohar Hadash* 21a); see also the term "median pillar" (**העמוד העמצאי**; *Zohar Hadash* 68c; et al.).[14]

Evil spirit. If wind-spirit may mean an angelic force, especially one moving between heaven and earth, what does this indicate about the nature of our "*alien* wind-spirit" which does not have access to heaven (or less probably from heaven to earth)? Heb זר may refer to demons, as in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, to distinguish between the "Aliens" and the "Watchers" and the "Sons of Heaven." Here Bitenosh tells her husband Lamech:

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[12] **вздохомъ іако мъноги вѣтры на небо**. Previous translators understood it as "as if [carried] by many winds", despite the fact that CS **мъноги** cannot be instr. pl. Hence, CS **вѣтры** is also an East Slavic nom. pl. (derived from acc.) rather than instr. The interpretation of previous translators, which contradicts the linguistic data, was obviously provoked by contextual considerations: the comparison of *two* persons, Abraham and Yahoel, or *two* birds carrying them, to "*many* winds" is absurd. It was, however, not taken into account that CS **мъноги** as well as Gk πολύς was widely used in the meaning 'great, strong', frequently rendering Heb רב or גדול (*HR*, 1181–1185). See רוח גדולה "great wind" in Jon 1:4; Job 1:19; 1 Kgs 19:1. Cf. also similar usage of the same word in *Apoc. Abr.* 16:3: **въ мнозѣи глас** "in a great sound" (Heb בקול גדול) and 17:1: "like a voice of many/great waters" (Heb כקול מים רבים).

[13] Thus Dillmann, *Henoch*, 117; see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 285.

[14] Cf. Idel, *Ascensions*, 110–112. These pillars must be equivalents of cosmic ladders with the same function (Gen 28:12; *Ladder of Jacob*; Quran 6.35; etc.; see Altmann, "Ladder;" Idel, *Kabbalah*, 88–96). Both concepts are probably not coincidentally linked, when Jacob has set a "pillar" (מצבה) on the place where he saw the "ladder" (Gen 28:22).

> … this seed comes from you, this conception was by you, the planting of [this] fruit is yours. [It was] not by any Alien, neither by any of the Watchers, nor yet by any of the Sons of Heav[en] [ולא מן כול זר ולא מן כול עירין ולא מן כול בני שמ[ין]]. (1QapGen^{ar} 2.1)

The collocation "alien spirit" as ἀλλότριος πνεῦμα occurs in Iamblichus' *Egyptian Mysteries*, speaking about "souls infected with extraordinary defilements and alien spirits" (ψυχαὶ δὲ περισσῶν μολυσμῶν καὶ ἀλλοτρίων πνευμάτων ἀναπίμπλαται). Alternatively, in the plural form the combination "alien spirits" or "spirits of aliens" might have gone back to Heb רוחות (ה)זרים as a variant or distortion of רוחות ממזרים "spirits of bastards," which designates the demonic offspring of the fallen angels in *Shirot* (4Q510 1.5 and 4Q511 35.7; cf. *1 En.* 10:9 Cod. Pan.). The very term ממזר 'bastard' in Zech 9:6 is rendered as "alien" in ancient translations (ἀλλογενεῖς in LXX and נכראין in *Tg.*).[15]

Not only the name, but also the role of the "alien spirit" in *3 Baruch* – the fact that it cannot ascend to heaven is appropriate for terrestial demonic forces. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* "the earth … and its spiritual ones" (CS дш҃ьнаꙗ probably rendering Gk πνεύματα; 21:3) are opposed to celestial "spiritual angels" (дх҃внꙑе анг҃лꙑ; 19:6–7). This confirms the fundamental statement repeated twice in *1 Enoch*: "The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling; but the spirits begotten on earth, on earth is their dwelling" (15:10; cf. 15:7–8).

Thus, the common ground of all these sources is the following conception of the ancient Jewish lore: while some winds-spirits do ascend to heaven or even serve as a means of transportation there, "alien" ones cannot do this. The border realm between earth and heaven is uncrossable for "alien" (demonic) spirits in contrast to angelic spirits.[16]

For other demonological motifs probably implied in *3 Bar.* 3–4 see comm. to 3:5 and 16:3).

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[15] I thank Michael Schneider for the parallels from Iamblichus and translations of Zechariah.

[16] A parallel in the *History of the Rechabites* above preserves rudiments of the conceptions which might lay behind *3 Baruch* as well: (1) "the Tempter" (ὁ πειράζων) is distinguished from the "wind," while in *3 Baruch*, the wind-spirit defined as "alien" is also a demonic power. (2) "The birds of this world" also cannot cross, although nothing is said there about the birds of another world. In *3 Bar.* 10, the latter successfully reach heaven.

2:2. *He brought me to the first heaven, and showed me a very large door / and there was the first heaven and in that heaven he showed me very large doors*. For a similar description, see 3:1–2. For the arrangement of heavens see introductory comm. to ch. 11 (*Ouranology*). "Being brought" to heaven at this stage of the ascent means apparently only the opportunity to see it from beneath, from the place "where heaven was set" (2:1G), after a "30 day's journey" (see comm. below).

Very large door. Heavenly doors (Gk θύρα, CS **двьри**) are mentioned also in 3:1 (second heaven), 4:2S (third heaven). The entrance to the fifth heaven, inaccessible for Baruch, is named differently from the previous openings through which he passed. It is called "gate" (Gk πύλη, CS **врата**) in 11:5 (in pl.) and 15:1. In 14:1 and 17:1 probably the same entrance is called "door" (see comm. ibid). In 11:2 the fifth gate is designated as "gate-tower" (Gk πυλών). In 6:13 we have "365 gates of heaven" (τὰς τριακοσίας ἑξήκοντα πέντε πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). Note also the "Beautiful" Temple gates (τὰς ὡραίας πύλας) mentioned in T2.

The terms "gates" and "doors" for heavenly openings are also interchangeable in the Bible.[17] Doors of heaven are attested first in Gen 28:17 (שער השמים); Ps 78:23 (דלתי שמים) and possibly in Gen 7:11, 8:2 as ארובות השמים;[18] Cf., e.g., also 3 Macc 6:18; *1 En.* 9:2, 10; 34–36; 72–82; *2 En.* 13–16; *4 Ezra* 3:19; *T. Levi* 5:1; *T. Abr.* (A) 11–12; *Apoc. Zeph.* 3:5–9; *Asc. Isa.* 6:6–9; Rev 3:8; 4:1; 4Q213[a] fr. 1 2.18. The explicit etymology of Babel is "the gate of god" (especially appropriate for the story of Gen 11:1–9; see on the Tower of Babel in *3 Bar.* 3:5 below). Among the main function of the celestial gates[19] must be enabling the travel of luminaries under the firmament (on this see comm. to "365 gates of heaven" in 6:13). The route of the spirits to the netherworld as described by Homer, also includes both Oceanus, and the gates of the sun:

> Hermes, the Helper, led them down the dank ways. Past the streams of *Oceanus* they went, past the rock Leucas, past *the gates of the sun* and the land of dreams, and quickly came to the mead of asphodel, where the spirits dwell. (*Od.* 24.10–14)

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[17] Although the phrase "doors of the gates" in Judg 16:3; 1 Sam 21:14, etc. indicates that the two words might diverge in their meanings.

[18] Oblath identifies also סולם of Gen 28, rationally translated as 'ladder,' with a celestial "vertical" gate ("To sleep").

[19] Although in *3 Baruc*h probably not of the gates of the lower heavens, since the sun passes here above the lower firmament (see comm. to 7:1).

Although single and multiple gates are mentioned in the sources above, *3 Baruch* belongs to a very narrow group of documents that explicitly mention gates between heavens. Seven gates on the way from heaven to the netherworld appear in the Sumerian account on the descent of the goddess Inanna (*ANET* 56.218–72), and a gate of the high heaven is known to *Adapa, Nergal and Ereshkigal*, and *Etana*. The gate of the third heaven is mentioned in *Apoc. Paul* 19 (probably based on *3 Baruch* or on common sources) and *Asc. Isa.* 10:24. Gates between heavens are found also in Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul*. Less clear is *4 Ezra* 3:19, where God's Glory enters through four probably subsequent gates (see introductory comm. to ch. 11), and the *Testament of Levi*, where a gate of some heaven is mentioned only once (most probably of the third; 5:1), while for the first heaven it is said that it "was opened" (2:5). Gates regularly divide between Palaces in Hekhalot literature.

2:2G. *As if [borne] on wings*. Baruch's flight is mentioned again only in the journey to the second heaven (3:2 in G and S). There the part. ἀναπτερωμένοι is used, "raised" (lit. "raised on wings"). In contrast to other heavenly journeys no explicit means of transportation is mentioned. Here "wings" is used metaphorically in distinction to, e.g., *Apoc. Abr.* 12:10, where a seer is brought to heaven on the wings of a dove. Cf. a metaphorical use in Philo in a very similar context:

> For the soul of the lover of God does in truth leap from earth to heaven and wing its way on high, eager to take its place in the ranks and share the ordered march of sun and moon and the all-holy, all-harmonious host of the other stars, marshalled and led by God … (*Spec. Leg.* 1.38.207)
>
> When on soaring wing it [i.e., the human mind] has contemplated the atmosphere and all its phases, it is borne yet higher to the ether and the circuit of heaven. (*Opif.* 23.70)

See also *Praem.* 11 and 14; *Plant.* 37. Holland sees in this mention of wings in *3 Baruch* (and in 7:5, where Baruch hides under the wings of the angel) a reference to the heavenly journey of the soul.[20] The "flight of the soul" to heaven was a *topos* of the Hellenistic thought; see Plato, who stated that "the natural function of the wing is to soar upwards and carry that which is heavy up to the place where dwells the race of the gods" (*Phaedr.* 246d), and Cicero, who called heaven "its [soul's] proper home and permanent abode" ("Scipio's Dream" in *Resp.* 6.29; cf. his *Tusc.* 1.24; cf. also Plutarch,

[20] Holland, "Himmelfahrt," 217.

Rom. 28.6–7; etc.). For the flight of the souls of the deceased, see comm. to "birds" in 10:4 below.

Does the flight imply upward motion between heavens? There is no other designation of an upward travel of Baruch. Picard has suggested that Baruch's movement might have been horizontal.[21] In the two cases where vertical movements of angels are mentioned the terminology is equivocal. Michael supposedly comes up and down between the gate of the last mentioned heaven and some unmentioned destination behind it in order to bring angelic offerings there (κατέρχεται in 11:4; ἀπῆλθεν in 14:1; κατῆλθεν in 15:1), and angels carry the sun's crown up to heaven (ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν in 8:4). The verbs κατέρχομαι, ἀπέρχομαι, and ἀναφέρω are the only indications of vertical movement between the heavens (and they are applied not to Baruch, but to angels). In fact, ἀπέρχομαι more frequently means "leave, depart," κατέρχομαι may mean either "come" or "return,"[22] and ἀναφέρω may mean "carry," not necessarily with a connotation of a vertical motion. See also the biblical usage of Heb עלה "go up," when the destination is a place of offering. Thus, the horizontal motion between the "walls" of hemispherical firmaments might be implied (on the form of the firmaments cf. comm. 2:2G). Baruch must have used one of the 365 gates on the horizon through which the sun proceeds in its rising and setting (see previous comm. and comm. to 6:13). This means that he entered heaven in the lowest point of the celestial vault over the horizon, and there was no need for a vertical flight. Probably the same is true for some other early apocalypses, e.g., the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. Horizontal motion is characteristic for Hekhalot texts, which might be also a rudiment of a single heaven conception known from *1 Enoch*, etc.[23]

2:2. *30 days' journey.* Long journeys of 30 (2:2–3), 60 (3:1–3) and 185/187 (4:2) days are mentioned only for the first three heavens. *b. Hag.* 13a speaks of journeys of 500 years between earth and heaven, as well as between heavens: "From earth to the firmament there is a journey of five hundred years, and the *thickness* of the firmament is a journey of five hundred years, and so too between all firmaments"; see also *b. Pes.* 94a; *y. Ber.* 9.12.13a (cf. further comm. to 2:4; 10:1).

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[21] Picard, "Observations," 79.

[22] *LSJ*, 925, s.v., I.4 and II.

[23] It is known also to *Pesiq. Rabbati* describing Moses' tour in heaven: "Moses was walking in heaven like a person going on earth" (Halperin, *Faces*, 292).

The text does not clarify whether (1) the journey is after entering the door or (2) it is, similarly to the long journey of *b. Hag.* 13a cited above, the way to the heavenly door, which (being "very large") is seen from beneath (see comm. above) or (3) most probably, it may be a journey inside the gate through the thickness of heaven estimated in *3 Baruch* "as great as the distance from earth to heaven" (2:5G) or "as [the distance from east to west" (2:5S). In light of these descriptions the door must be in fact a long tunnel resembling, on the one hand, straight tunnel-like gates in broad walls widely found in the land of Israel in different periods,[24] and, on the other hand, well documented mystical and clinical experiences of travel to the other world through a tunnel.[25]

2:2S. *He showed me means of safety* (**показа ми съпасение**). Lit. "he showed me salvation." Cf. "salvation of Jerusalem" (σωτηρίας Ἰερουσαλήμ) in 1:3G. However, the phrase is not set in the context. Eschatological salvation (not treated in *3 Baruch* at all) is implausible here. Gaylord assumes a corruption, although the verse is well represented in manuscripts.[26] It may be rather a misinterpretation of Gk σωτήρια, which here should mean "means of safety" or "safe way." The Slavic translator has chosen the meaning of the word widely known from LXX and NT. Cf. a guiding angel instructing Abraham on the means of safety against Azazel during the revelation (14:12–13). These means may be especially relevant, if the inhabitants of the lower heaven are to be identified as demonic creatures (see comm. to ch. 3).

2:3. *Plain* (πεδίον / **поле**). Harlow believes that "the conception of the lower heavens as a plain, which is unique to *3 Baruch* among the ancient apocalypses, apparently derives from a detail of the biblical account of the Tower of Babel in Gen 11, where the builders of the Tower, dwelling in *3 Baruch* on the first and second heavens (see 2:7; 3:5), "found a plain" (also πεδίον in LXX): "Here in *3 Baruch* the earthly plain of the biblical story is projected into the heavenly realm and determines the basic geography of the four lower heavens."[27] Actually, plain appears without allusion to Gen 11 in a similar vision of *Hist. Rech.* 3:6: "it [the land beyond the cosmic river] was like a large and vast island, without a mountain or height." Further-

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[24] See Herzog, *Stadttor,* 89–156.

[25] See, e.g., Zaleski, *Otherworld*, 36, 106, 121–22, 168; Blackmore, Troscianko, "Physiology."

[26] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, ad loc.

[27] Harlow, *Baruch*, 110.

more, plains appear in *all* heavens visited by Baruch in the Greek version and on two heavens in the Slavonic version: first (2:3,4,5), second 3:3G (S here has "chamber"), third (4:3) and fourth (10:2, 4, and 5G; 'mountain' in S). These heavens are defined by Harlow as "lower," since he assumes that Baruch entered also the fifth heaven (cf. comm. to ch. 11).

Celestial plains are widely presented in Egyptian sources, in both iconography and texts; cf., e.g., "the great celestial plain on which the gods rest" (Coffin Text 474).[28] *3 Baruch* thus might conflate an archaic image of the flat sky with a relatively novel idea of (hemi)spherical heavens. See also post-mortem valleys of Jewish tradition and Elysian Fields of Greek mythology (see comm. to 10:2).

Men … with the faces of cattle, and the horns of deer, and the feet of goats, and the loins of sheep. "These are those who built the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them" as we learn from 2:7. According to the extant redaction of *3 Baruch*, another group of the Tower builders resides in the second heaven (3:5). See comm. to ch. 3.

In contrast to the list of zoomorphic features of the second group of Builders including "appearance like that of dogs / faces of dogs" (3:5), the description here corresponds to the beginning of the list of clean animals of Deut 14:4–5: "These are the animals which you shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat, the deer …" The issue of purity appears in 4:3 (impurity of Hades), 8:4 (purification of the sun), 10:5S ("pure birds"), and probably is implied in T:2 (river as a place for revelation); see comm. ibid.

Excursus: Dimensions of Heaven (2:4–7)

Greek	Slavonic
4 And I Baruch asked the angel, "Tell me, I pray you, what is the thickness of heaven in which we journeyed,	4 And I Baruch asked the angel, "Tell me what is the thickness of heaven which we have crossed,
and what is its extent,	
and what is the plain, so that I can also tell the sons of men?"	and what is the plain, so that I can tell the sons of men?"
5 And the angel whose name is Phamael told me: "This door which you see	5 Phanuel told me, "The doors which you saw,
is [the door] of heaven,	

[28] Wright, *Heaven*, 10–16.

and as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness,	as [the distance] from east to west, so great is the thickness of heaven,
and the same is the width of the plain which you saw."	as the distance from earth to heaven, so great is its width – the plain where we are standing."
6 And again the angel of hosts told me, "Come, and I will show you greater mysteries."	6 He told me, "Go and I will show you the mysteries."
7 But I said, "I pray you, show me what are these men." And he told me, "These are those who built the Tower of War against God, and the Lord banished them."	7 I said to the angel, "Lord, who are these strangely shaped creatures?" And the angel told me, "These are those who built the Tower of War against God [and] the Lord banished them."

NOTES

2:4G. *I pray you* (δέομαί σου). Occurs often in G (2:7; 3:4; 4:8,14), consistently lacking in S.

2:4S. *Thickness* (ⲧⲗⲁⲕⲉⲧⲟⲧⲁ). It might have rendered also Gk πλάτος "plain."[29] However, another word for "plain" appears in the same verse (ⲡⲟⲗⲉ), and in G "thickness" (πάχος) and "extent" (διάστημα) are clearly differentiated.

2:5S. *The doors which you saw.* The clause in S looks abbreviated. G finishes: "is [the door] of heaven." Alternatively, *lectio difficilior* in S may mean, that the length of the gate's tunnel through the firmament defines "the thickness of heaven."

2:5G. *And the same is the width of the plain* (καὶ ὅσον πάλιν ἐστὶ καὶ το τοῦ πεδίου μῆκος). Most previous translations emended the verse, inserting ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως νότου τοσοῦτον "from north to south, so great" after ἐστί. According to this emendation the verse must be: "and again as is [the distance] from north to south, so great is the width of the plain."[30] Hartom prefers to read "from east to west" in place of "from north to south," in accordance with the Hebrew idiom כרחק מזרח ממערב (as in Ps 103:12).[31] This comparison is used also in the same verse of S: "as [the distance] from east to west, so great is the thickness of heaven." However, "from north to south" is also well attested (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 8.1; 24.2). Moreover, any emendation seems unnecessary; see comm. to 2:4.

2:5. *Phamael/Phanuel*. The original form is either Panuel or Remiel; see comm. to T:1.

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[29] Srezn, 3.1047.
[30] Cf. Hughes, "Baruch," 534.
[31] Hartom, "Baruch," 412.

2:7S. *Strangely shaped* (**иноѡбразьнии**). Lacking in G. It must reproduce Gk ἀλλόκοτος.[32]

2:7. *Tower of War against God*. S has **ѕтлъпъ бѣотворьнъı** "God-made tower," which is a corruption of **ѕтлъпъ бѣоборьнъı** rendering Gk τὸν πύργον τῆς θεομαχίας (as in G).

COMMENTARY

Baruch's first question in heaven is about its dimensions. Such curiosity for celestial dimensions is well attested, although certain circles denied the very possibility of evaluating them: "The height of heaven, the breadth of the earth, the abyss, and wisdom – who can search them out?" (Sir 1:3). This should be regarded in the context of general "pious agnosticism" typical of Wisdom literature (cf., e.g., Job 11 and *passim*; Sir 9:13–18) and found also in early apocalyptic texts: "Is there anyone who can discern the length of heaven, and how great its height?" (*1 En.* 93:14; cf. *4 Ezra* 4:5–6).[33] However, in a later book ascribed to the same visionary, he already "carefully measured the size of heavenly gates" (*2 En.* 13:2), "measured and described the stars" (*2 En.* 40:3) and "the sun's circle and its rays" (*2 En.* 40:5) and also adjusted the measurements of earth and the distance from earth to heavens: "measured out the whole earth" and "wrote down the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and downwards to the very lowest hell" (*2 En.* 40:9). Similarly, another "Baruch" was shown "the height of the air" (*2 Bar.* 59:8). Cf. also the distances between different heavens and between heaven and earth in *Asc. Isa.* 7:18 and 28; *b. Hag.* 12b–13a; *Masekhet Hekh.* 2 and 4 (*Bet HaMidr.* 2. 41, 43); *Reuyot Yehezkel* (*Bate Midr.* 2.131); for more celestial measurements see *3 En.* 22C:1–3.[34] Below Baruch expresses interest also in other measurements: of Hades (5:3), of the Tower of Babel (3:6), and of Michael's liturgical bowl (11:8).[35]

2:4. *The thickness of heaven.* According to G, the "thickness of heaven" = the height of the sky ("distance from earth to heaven") = the width of heaven ("width of the plain"). S gives two independent equalities: "thickness of heaven" = the width of earth ("[the distance] from east to west"),

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[32] Srezn, 1.1104.

[33] On this issue see Stone, "Revealed Things," 421ff. See also Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 241–42.

[34] Cf. also Mesopotamian precedents of heaven measured in *Etana* and AO 6478.

[35] Cf. Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 153–155; Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology*, 90ff.; Stone, "Lists."

while the width of heaven = the height of the sky (S may imply that all four are equal).

By "thickness" (Gk τὸ πάχος, CS **ѳлъстота**) either the *interspace* between the firmaments is meant, or, more probably, the literal *thickness* of the solid firmament separating these spaces (as Heb **עובי הרקיע** of *Gen. Rab.* 6.6. and *b. Hag.* 13a or Aram **סומכא דרקיעא** of *b. Pes.* 94a).[36] In many sources the heavens and the firmaments separating them are different phenomena and even created on different days (*Gen. Rab.* 4.2–7; cf. *Mek. R. Shim.* 100; Jerome, *Quaest.* Isa 64:1). In *Asc. Isa.* 7:18; 28 it is the lower interspace which is equal to the height of the sky: "the height of that [second] heaven is like that from heaven to earth" (*Asc. Isa.* 7:18), while "the height from the third to the fourth heaven was greater than from earth to the firmament" (*Asc. Isa.* 7:28).[37] In any case, one of the two dimensions – interspace or thickness – is lacking in both *3 Baruch* and the *Ascension of Isaiah*. What we can learn about the missing parameter in *3 Baruch* is that it must differ for different heavens: the fact is implied by the varying length of journeys to and between heavens (30, 60, [90?] and 185 days; see comm. to 10:1G) and probably by the dimensions of Michael's bowl seen in a higher heaven, which is comparable in its size to the whole first heaven (11:8; see then end of this comm.). This progressive growth corroborates with *Asc. Isa.* 7:28 (cited above) and contrasts with the consistency of the dimensions in *b. Hag.* 13a (also measured by the journey length): "From earth to the firmament there is a journey of five hundred years, and the thickness (**עבי**) of the firmament is a journey of five hundred years, and from the first firmament to the next there is a journey of five hundred years" (*Gen. Rab.* 6.6; *b. Hag.* 13a adds: "so too between all firmaments; cf. *y. Ber.* 9.12.13a; *b. Pes.* 94a).[38] In all these sources the thickness of firmaments and the interspace between them are clearly discerned, and for the former the Heb

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[36] In the latter case, our author must have held to the physical nature of heaven, in contrast with the view declared by Philo (*Somn.* 1.4 [21–24]; see comm. to 3:7). Philo would disagree with *3 Baruch* also regarding the question of relative dimensions of the width of earth and its distance from heaven: "For these the lawgiver substitutes a tower which he represents as being built by the men of that day who wished in their folly and insolent pride to touch the heaven. Folly indeed; surely dreadful madness! For if one should lay a small foundation and build up upon it the different parts of the whole earth, rising in the form of a single pillar, it would still be divided by vast distances from the sphere of ether …" (*Conf.* 2.5).

[37] Heaven exceeds the earth also according to *Midr. Konen* 25–26.

[38] One more parameter, the distance from the sky to the Upper Waters, equated to the height of the sky, is found in *Gen. Rab.* 4.3.

עבי or Aram סומכא are used, which are appropriate equivalents for the Gk πάχος of *3 Baruch*.

These dimensions are relevant also for the subsequent Tower of Babel story (2:7ff; these two issues were connected also by Philo in *Conf.* 2 cited in the note above). Firstly, if in *3 Baruch* the literal thickness of the firmaments is meant, the account of the attempt of the Builders to transfix it with a bore (in 3:7 below) looks especially ironic.[39] Secondly, the "distance from the earth to heaven" is nothing else but the destined height of the Tower, which was built to the height of only 463 cubits (3:6). The magnitude of creation again contrasts with humble efforts of humans.

As noted, the dimensions of the bowl (Gk φιάλη / CS **хранильница**) of virtues held by Michael in 11:8 are comparable to the dimensions of the first heaven: "its depth was like [the distance] from heaven to earth, and its width like [the distance] from north to south ["from east to west" in S]." This means either that higher heavens are more spacious (cf. above), or that these dimensions are not precise measurements, but merely epithets of exaggeration.[40]

2:5S. *[The distance] from east to west*. This reading of S (absent in G), comparing "[the distance] from east to west" to the "distance from the earth to heaven," finds a strikingly close parallel in the Rabbinic exegesis of Ps 103, in which the both dimensions are mentioned:

> What distance is longer, from heaven to earth or from east to west? Some said, "From east to west, because when the sun is at east or west, everyone can look at it, while when it is in the middle of the firmament, one cannot." But the Sages said, "Both dimensions are equal, because it is said, 'As heavens are high above earth,' etc. 'As east is far from west'" [כרחק מזרח ממערב; Pss 103:11 and 12]." (*b. Tamid* 32a)

This debate witnesses that the question was of scientific interest not only for our visionary. The rabbinic text argues for the primacy of textual authority over empirical observations in addressing the matter. *3 Baruch* represents an additional methodology – revelatory experience.

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[39] Alternatively it may debate with the views that the lower firmament is only "three fingers thick" (*t. Hag.* 2.6; *Gen. Rab.* 2.4; 4.3–5; *y. Hag.* 2.77a; *b. Hag.* 15a).

[40] Picard supposed that the inversion of the definition "from earth to heaven" here to "from heaven to earth" with the bowl (11:8) must indicate that Baruch's journey has reached its limit and made a full circle in ch. 11 (Picard, "Obseravationes," 93; "Autres mystères," 28–29).

Builders: Second Account (3:1–5a)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taken me the angel of the Lord brought me to the second heaven, and showed me there also a door like the previous and said, "Let us enter through it."	1 And the angel took me and brought me to the second heaven and showed me large open doors, and the angel told me, "Let us enter through them."
2 And we entered, being borne on wings, a distance of about a 60 days' journey.	2 And we entered flying about a 7 days' journey.
3 And he showed me there a plain,	3 And he showed me a great chamber,
and it was full of men,	and there were strangely shaped creatures living in it,
whose appearance was like that of dogs,	with the faces of dogs,
and whose feet were like those of deer.	the feet of deer,
	and the horns of goats.
4 And I asked the angel, "I pray you, Lord, say to me who are these?" 5a And he said, "These are those who conspired to make the Tower.	4 And I asked the angel of the Lord, "Who are these?" 5a And he told me, "These are those who planned to build the Tower.

NOTES

3:1G. *And he showed me there also a door* (καὶ ὑπέδειξέν μοι ἐν κἀκεῖ θύραν). Gk ὑποδεικνύω/νυμι must govern a direct object in acc., without prepositions. For this reason Picard inserted ἐν in brackets.[41] In fact, Gk ὑπέδειξεν + ἐν probably goes back to a calque of Heb -הראה ב; cf. MT and LXX in Ps 59(58):11(10).[42]

3:5. *Who conspired / who planned* (τὴν συμβούλην δόντες / **помъсливши**). In G lit. "giving counsel." Cf. συμβούλιον ἔλαβον (Matt 12:13); συμβούλιον εποπίουν (Mark 3:6) and cf. δότε … βουλήν (LXX Judg 20:7); φέρετε … βουλήν (LXX 2Sam 16:20). It may be a biblicism going back to Heb **הביא עצה / שת / עשה / הב**, lit. "give/make/put/bring counsel" meaning "plan, plot, conspire" or "decide" (Judg 20:7; 2Sam 16:20; Isa 30:1; Ps 13:3; probably Isa 16:3; a similar calque is found also in *Apoc. Abr.* 5:8). It might mean also "advised." "Counsel" in the same context appears in *Midrash Psalms* commenting on the passage "who did not walk in the counsel of the wicked of Ps 1:1: "[This means –] who did not follow the advice of the generation of the Separation [**שלא הלך בעצת דור הפלגה**], who said 'Let us build a town.' [Gen 11:4] 'Let us' [**הבה**]

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41 Picard, "Observationes," 83.

42 Cf. similar calques in *Apoc. Abr.* 12:10; 31:4; see Kulik, *Retroverting*, 70.

supposes 'counsel' [עצה] as said, 'Discuss and make counsel here [הבו לכם דבר ועצה הלום]'" (*Midr. Pss.* 1.13). The text continues with the story about the differentiated punishment for three groups of builders, known from *b. Sanh.* 109a; *Tan.* Noah 28; *Sefer HaYashar* 9.26 (see comm. to 3:5 below). The latter interpretation would contradict the following narrative, where this group is described as directly managing the construction.

CS **помъıслити** has a very wide semantic field including "think (over)," "imagine," "decide," "desire," "plan" and rendering *inter alia* Gk λογίζεσται, ἐπιθυμεῖν, βούλεσθαι. Thus, its *Vorlage* might well be identical to G.

COMMENTARY

Duplication Theory

In the next heaven Baruch finds similar hybrid creatures again. The division of Tower builders into groups is attested in Rabbinic tradition as well. Usually there are not two but three groups:

> They split into three groups. One said, "Let us ascend and live there," and the second said, "Let us ascend and worship idols," and the third said, "Let us ascend and fight." Those who said "Let us ascend and live there," the Lord scattered them; and those who said "Let us ascend and fight," turned to apes, spirits, demons, and night-demons; and those who said "Let us ascend and worship idols," – for there the Lord confused the language of all the earth. (*b. Sanh.* 109a)

See also *Tan.* Noah 28; *Midr. Pss.* 1.13; *Midr. Agg.* Gen 11:8; *Sefer HaYashar* 9.26. On the basis of this text, rich with many close parallels to *3 Baruch*, James and Ühlinger suggested that *3 Baruch* contains traces of the original division into three classes too.[43] The two groups of Builders in *3 Baruch* may also resemble two groups of Watchers in the second and fifth heavens of *2 Enoch* (7 and 18). The first group is "imprisoned" and "tormented", while the second is only banished from the heavenly liturgy.[44]

However, in *3 Baruch* the appearances of the two groups are almost identical, and their identifications differ only in the delicate distinction between "those who built the Tower" versus "those who conspired" to build

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[43] James, "Baruch," lix. They may be classified either according to the type of their punishment (banishing of 2:7; confusion of languages of 3:6 and 3:8G; and blindness of 3:8G; thus Uelinger, *Weltreich*, 150), or of their function in the building process (builders of 2:7; "planners" of 3:5a; and forced builders of 3:5b; thus Harlow, *Baruch*, 112–113).

[44] On the connections between Builders and Watchers see in this comm. below (*Builders and Giants*).

it. There are good grounds to believe that this is not an apocalyptic *déjà vue*, but rather the result of an editorial elaboration. Cf. both subsequent accounts:

2:2–3, 7a	3:1–5a
Greek	
2 And having taken me he brought me to the first heaven, and showed me a very large door. And he told me, "Let us enter through it." And we entered as if [borne] on wings, a distance of about a 30 days' journey. 3 And he showed me within heaven a plain. And there were men living thereon, with the faces of cattle, and the horns of deer, and the feet of goats, and the loins of sheep. < …> 7 But, I said, "I pray you, show me what are these men." And he told me, "These are those who built the Tower of War against God …"	1 And having taken me the angel of the Lord brought me to the second heaven, and showed me there also a door like the previous and he said, "Let us enter through it." 2 And we entered, being borne on wings, a distance of about a 60 days' journey. 3 And he showed me there a plain, and it was full of men, whose appearance was like that of dogs, and whose feet were like those of deer. 4 And I asked the angel, "I pray you, Lord, say to me who are these?" 5 And he said, "These are those who conspired to make the Tower."
Slavonic	
2 And there was the first heaven and in that heaven he showed me very large doors. And the angel told me, "Let us enter through these doors," And we entered about a 30 days' journey. He showed me salvation. 3 And I saw a plain, where men were living whose faces were those of cattle, with the horns of deer, the feet of goats, and the loins of sheep. < …> 7 I said to the angel, "Lord, who are these strangely shaped creatures?" And the angel told me, "These are those who built the Tower of the War against God …"	1 And the angel took me and brought me to the second heaven and showed me large open doors, and the angel told me, "Let us enter through them." 2 And we entered flying about a 7 days' journey. 3 And he showed me a great chamber, and there were strangely shaped creatures living in it, with the faces of dogs, the feet of deer, and the horns of goats. 4 And I asked the angel of the Lord, "Who are these?" 5 And he told me, "These are those who planned to build the Tower."

These texts look like two slightly edited variants of the same account, in the first case interpolated by the treatment of celestial measures (2:4–6; it is rather an interpolation than an excursus, since it clumsily cuts the verse 2:7 from the first account). The duplication of the vision of the Builders must be the result of compilation. Two versions of the same description could have been placed successively, according to the model well known in biblical criticism and attested in other pseudepigrapha. See also two similar Phoenix descriptions, where 7:3–5 is an abridged version that duplicates 6:1–5 (see comm. ibid.). The same most probably happened also with two different

versions of Enoch's tour in the *Book of Watchers* (chs. 17–19 and chs. 21–36, also separated only by an excursus – the list of the archangels in ch. 20).[45] The duplication theory, which posits a reduction of one heaven from the total calculation, concords with the numbering of heavens in 7:2S and 10:1G and solves numerous problems of inconsistency in the ouranological picture of *3 Baruch* (see comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

Whether *3 Baruch* presupposes two groups of the Builders or one, the cosmology of the book appears unbalanced and unprecedented in reserving one, or even two, of the total of five[46] heavens exclusively for the Builders. This can hardly be justified by the role of the Tower account in early Jewish or Christian theology or sacral history.[47] Possible solutions for this problem are proposed below.

Identifying the Builders

The identification of the two groups of chimeric creatures that exclusively occupy the lower heavens as the builders of the Tower satisfies "Baruch" and thus probably the originally intended audience of the work. However, for a reader from another epoch it is difficult to see the connection between such remote images. This implies that an authentic audience might have known something else – some self-evident connotations of both images that helped to reconcile the seemingly disconnected features of the "chimeric Builders in heaven" and integrate this unique invention into an allegedly logical and coherent context of the common knowledge of that time and milieu.

1. *Physical transformation of the wicked.* The Builders of *3 Baruch* were either struck by lycanthropy or changed into demonic beings. Both kinds of transformation of the wicked are known to early Jewish literature. According to *2 Baruch* in the last judgment "the shape of those who now act wickedly will be made more evil than it is now" (*2 Bar.* 51:2) and "those

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[45] See Black, *Enoch*, 15–16.

[46] Or whatever their number, from three to seven, would be (see introductory comm to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

[47] The only other vision, where the building of a tower is a central image, is *Herm. Sim.* 9, where the tower symbolizes the Church. The tower of Hermas is built by angels, while in *3 Baruch*, according to the interpretation below, it is erected by the fallen angels progeny. The understanding of Pentecost as the reversal of the tower of Babel is explicit in Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 41.15–16 and must be implied in the miracle of tongues on the day of Pentecost in Acts 2:1–11. Cf. also קריה מתבניה "a city to be built" in the vision of Michael (4Q529 1.9).

will be changed … into startling visions and horrible shapes" (*2 Bar.* 51:5), and "they will depart to be tormented" (*2 Bar.* 51:5; cf. *3 Bar.* 2:7: "the Lord banished them"). Sinful generations since Enosh in general have lost the Divine likeness and resembled centaurs and apes (*Gen. Rab.* 23.6–7). Specifically the Tower builders turned to "apes, spirits, demons, and night-demons" in *b. Sanh.* 109a and parallels (see above). The builders will live in cliffs "like beasts of the field" (*Bib. Ant.* 7:3), "God divided their speech, and changed their likeness" (*Bib. Ant.* 7:5).[48] Similar ideas were developed by Plato, assuming reincarnation of men to beasts: "if he does not still refrain from wickedness he will be changed every time, according to the nature of his wickedness, into some bestial form after the similitude of his own nature" (*Tim.* 42b-c; cf. 91e); "a human soul may pass into the life of a beast, and a soul which was once human, may pass again from a beast into a man" (*Phaedr.* 249b); cf. *Phaed.* 81e–82a.[49] Origen taught that "one who is now a man may in another world become a demon" (so Jerome, *Ep. Avitum* 3).

2. *Identification of the Builders.* Several creative suggestions were proposed in order to find implications to later realities in the image of the Builders. Thus, Picard recognizes them as an allegory of the Hellenistic sophists concerned with the physical nature of heaven (see 3:7 and comm. ibid.).[50] George Nickelsburg identified the Builders as Babylonian or Roman destroyers of the Temple.[51] However, all these suggestion do not help to explain their appearance and their (exclusive) occupation of the lower heaven.

2.1. *Builders and demons.* Demons appear explicitly in *3 Baruch* only in 16:3 (where the children of the wicked are hurt by demons). However, we may posit the presence of a developed implied demonology behind

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[48] Nebuchadnezzar was also punished by a transformation to an animal (Dan 4:33). "The spine of a man after seven years turns into a snake, should he not bow while reciting the benediction 'We give thanks unto Thee'" (*b. B. Qam.* 16a). On zoomorphic creatures in Jewish and Christian iconography see Ameisenowa, "Animal-Headed." Men with animal heads are well known in medieval Jewish and Christian iconography; see Ameisenowa, "Gastmahl."

[49] Here and in most cases below the translations are based on Shorley et al., *Plato*, often revised.

[50] Picard, "Autres Mystères," 14, 33–39; idem, "Observationes," 79.

[51] See Nickelsburg (*Jewish Literature*, 302–303) basing on the contamination of Gen 11 and Dan 3 in *Bib. Ant.* 6. Cf. also Nebuchadnezzar who was punished with lycanthropy too (Dan 4:33).

the narrative on the basis of the references to "alien spirit" (1:1), demolished giants (4:10), and probably demonic locusts (16:3), as well as multiple features ascribed to Builders and their direct identification with demons in some parallels (*Paraph. Shem* 24–25; *b. Sanh.* 109a).[52]

2.1.1. *Demonic zoomorphism and satyrs.* Zoomorphism and especially chimeric appearance are widely known as demonic features. Evil spirits look like frogs (Rev 16:13) or like locusts with human faces (Rev 9:7). Zoomorphic feet betray demonic impostors (*b. Ber.* 6a; *b. Git.* 68b). Cf. also the list of three features in which demons are likened to animals: "they eat and drink like animals, multiply like animals, and excrete like animals" (*b. Hag.* 16a). The archons of the Ophite Gnostics, "seven ruling demons" described by Celsus, are also zoomorphic: lion-like Michael, bull-like Suriel, serpent-like Raphael, eagle-like Gabriel, bear-like Thauthabaoth, dog-like Erathoel, ass-like Onoel (Origen, *Cels.* 6.30). Celsus adds that "certain persons return to the shapes of the archons, so that some are called lions, others bulls, others dragons, or eagles, or bears, or dogs" (*Cels.* 6.33). Cynocephali, dog-faced creatures (as in the description of the second group in 3:3), were met in heaven also by Isaac (*T. Isaac* 5:8; see below). Dog-headed demons appear in Egyptian iconography.[53]

While Rabbinic demons usually have rooster feet (e.g., *b. Ber.* 6a), the Builders have feet of goats (2:3) or deer (3:3). This gives the creatures of the first heaven (at least the first group) the appearance of silenes or satyrs. Satyr-like demons (with asses' legs) appear also in *Test. Sol.* 4; cf. 18:1–2. Cf. especially Roman satyrs (fauns) described as goat-like from the haunches to the hooves, and often with horns. These images, universally known in the Hellenistic world, might have their counterparts in Jewish and other Near Eastern legacy as well. The Biblical *seirim*, "hairy beings" or "goats" worshipped by the Israelites (Lev 17:7; 2 Chr 11:15), and described as dancing in the place of the destroyed Babylon (Isa 13:21 and 34:14; rendered as ὀνοκένταυροι in LXX), were interpreted as such

[52] Demonic creatures are part of a very similar mourning setting in *2 Baruch*, which also takes place in the Temple gate: "But as for us who live, woe unto us, because we see the afflictions of Zion, and what has befallen Jerusalem. I will call the Sirens from the sea, and you Lilin, come you from the desert, and you Shedim and Dragons from the forests: awake and gird up your loins unto mourning, and take up with me the dirges, and make lamentation with me" (*2 Bar.* 10:7–8).

[53] Keel, *Symbolism*, 80–81.

satyr-like demons.[54] They were consistently rendered as demons in *Tgs*. Lev 17:7; Isa 13:21; 34:14; 2 Chr 11:15; *Sifra* Lev 17:7; cf. *Gen. Rab*. 65.15; *Lev. Rab*. 22.5; *b. Ber.* 62a-b; *b. B. Bat.* 25a). The same in Vulgata for Lev 17:7 and 2 Chr 11:15 (*daemones*). In his commentary on *seirim* of Isa 13:21 (translated there as *pilosi* 'hairy'), Jerome adds that they are "either incubi or satyrs or a certain kind of wild men" and "belong to the race of demons" (*Comm. in Isa*. 5). See also probably demonic satyrs described in his *Vita Pauli* 6:

> a dwarf [*homunculus*], whose nostrils were joined together, with horns growing out of his forehead, and with the legs and feet of a goat … a mortal being, one of the inhabitants of the desert, whom the pagan race, confused by various errors, worship and call fauns, satyrs, and incubi …

A desert demon Azazel also had certain goat connections (Lev 16:10). *Seirim* have no iconographic representation and their appearance was never described (except probably by Jerome).[55] Thus, if the proposed identifications are accepted, *3 Baruch* may present the only physical depiction and detailed treatment of *seirim*-satyrs in ancient Jewish literature.[56]

2.1.2. *Builders and demons identified*. Whereas according to a developed Rabbinic tradition the builders or the whole "generation of the Separation" were transformed into demons (*b. Sanh*. 109a and parallels cited above),[57] a Gnostic tradition considers the Tower building as a demonic plot, i.e., states that the builders were demons in the first place (italics are mine):

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[54] Cf. Janowski, Neumann-Gorsolke, "Tier."

[55] Another exception may be the parody testimony of the new moon in the Tosefta: the frightening chimerical creature was reported to be seen in the Judean desert not far from Jerusalem (and thus possibly connected to Azazel): "When I was going up to Ma'ale Adumim, I saw *him* laying between two rocks, and his head was like of cattle, his ears were like of goat, his horns were like of deer, and his tail was between his legs. When I saw him, I was frightened and fell backwards" (עולה הייתי במעלה אדומים וראיתיו רבוץ בין שני סלעים ראשו דומה לעגל אזניו דומות לגדי קרניו דומות לצבי וזנבו מונחת לו בין יריכותיו ראיתיו נבעתתי ונפלתי לאחורי; *t. Rosh HaSh* 1.15).

[56] In Jewish iconography, some recognize a figure of a satyr holding a lyre in a graffito in a burial cave at Bet Lei probably dated to the Persian period (see Smith, *Studies*, 1.232, n. 21).

[57] This motif reappears in medieval midrash identifying werewolves and woodmen of German folklore as descendents of the Tower builders (*Sefer Ziyyoni*, end of Noah; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.204).

> And in order that the sin of Nature might be filled, I made the womb, which was disturbed, pleasant – blind wisdom – that I might be able to bring (it) to naught. And at my wish, he plotted with the water of Darkness and also the Darkness, that they might wound every form of your (pl.) heart. For by the will of the light of the Spirit they surrounded you; they bound you in Faith. And in order that his plan might become idle, he sent a demon that the plan of her wickedness might be proclaimed. And he caused the Flood, and he destroyed your (pl.) race, in order to take the light and to take from Faith. But I proclaimed quickly by the mouth of the demon that a Tower come to be up to the particle of the light, which was left in the demons and their race – which was water – that the demon might be protected from the turbulent chaos. And *the womb planned these things according to my will in order that she might pour forth completely. A Tower came to be through the demons*. The Darkness was disturbed by his loss. He loosened the muscles of the womb. And the demon who was going to enter the tower was protected in order that the races might continue and might acquire coherence through him. For he possesses power from every form. (*Paraph. Shem* 24–25; italics are mine)[58]

This tradition not only states that the Tower "came to be through the demons," but further states that demonic powers "plotted" and "planned" the events, similar to the second account of the Builders in *3 Baruch* (3:5). Note also "blind wisdom" and the blindness of the Builders in *3 Baruch* (3:8G).

2.1.3. *Heaven as an abode of demons*. Heaven is not the most common abode for demons. However, this notion is not unique to *3 Baruch*. Pythagoras believed that "the whole air is full of souls which are called demons or heroes" (Diogenes Laertius 8.32; cf. Plato, *Epin.* 984d–985b; Philo, *Gig.* 2–4[6–18]). According to Plutarch "in the intermediate regions between gods and men there exist certain natures susceptible to human emotions and involuntary changes, whom it is right that we, like our fathers before us, should regard as demons" (*Def. Or.* 10–15 [415a–418a]). In the *Testament of Solomon* demons reside in heaven, and particularly in "stars," constellations, and the moon (2:2; 4:6, 9) or even identified with heavenly bodies. In 8:2 they are seven (in 18:2 – thirty six) as seven bound stars of *1 En.* 21:3, seven archons of Gnostics (Origen, *Cels.* 6.30), and seven planets as malevolent demonic powers in Mandean mythology.[59] Some of them are zoomorphic at the same time (18:1–2). "Sammael and his hosts," i.e., "angels of Satan," dwell below the first heaven (in the "firmament") according to *Asc. Isa.* 7:9. "The

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[58] The translations of Hag Hammadi texts here and below are based on Robinson, *Nag Hammadi.*

[59] Cf. Toepel, "Planetary."

spirits of the retributions for vengeance on men" are found in the lower heaven in *T. Levi* 3:2. They are probably identical to "the spirits of deceit and of Beliar" of the next verse (*T. Levi* 3:3). Eph 6:12 speaks of the "spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms" (πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις), and some Church Fathers explain this as a reference to demons dwelling in heaven.[60] Some demonic creatures reside in heaven in *T. Isaac* 5 (see below). Cf. also David Halperin's attempt to reconstruct a lost Jewish tradition of the identification of the celestial Living Creatures/Beasts (חיות) with demons.[61]

Demons can also occupy the lower heaven, being perceived as pagan gods (cf. Deut 32:8; Sir 17:17; *Test. Sol.* 5:5; 1 Cor 10:20; *Acts John* 41; 43; Justin, *1 Apol.* 5; 41; *Dial.* 58; 73; Tatian, *Ad Gr.* 8; 29; Origen, *Cels.* 7.69; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 1.10; Tertullian, *Ad Scap.* 2; *Idol.* 1; 15; etc.).[62]

The idea that "on earth is [or "shall be"] their dwelling" is repeated thrice in three successive verses in the account of the evil spirits begotten from the dead giants (*1 En.* 15:8–10; see below). The same impenetrability of the border between the two realms must be meant in *3 Bar.* 2:1, which states that the River Ocean separating the celestial realm cannot be crossed by "any alien spirit of all those that God created" (see comm. ibid.). Thus, the trespassing of this border could have been a motive for the building of the Tower (on demons causing the building of the Tower see *Paraph. Shem* 24–25 cited above). By introducing demons into the Tower story, *3 Baruch* uniquely proposes a harmonization between two traditions: demons limited to terrestial realm, on the one hand, and demons as celestial inhabitants, on the other.

The punishment for this attempt comes as ironic fulfillment of their wish. The Builders here "wanted to get to the firmament" (thus in *Tan. B.* Noah 22), and that is what they got. The heaven may not only be an abode of demons, but also a place of punishment both for the Watchers (their fathers according to *1 En.* 18–19; *2 En.* 7 and 18) and for other wicked souls (see *3 Bar.* 4:3, 6; 5:3; Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 20–22, where souls are tortured in the fourth and fifth heavens; *b. Tamid* 32b locating Gehenna in heaven; cf. comm. to ch. 4: *Celestial Bestiary: Hell in heaven*).

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[60] See Lash, "Where."

[61] Halperin, *Faces*, 151–154.

[62] Cf. the gods ascending to heaven in order to escape the Flood in *Gilgamesh* 11.11–14.

2.1.4. *Zoomorphism and celestial demonic functions*. Why would zoomorphic creatures, probably demons, be situated in heaven? Their zoomorphic appearance may be connected to the function of the celestial afterworld doorkeepers and probably "angels of punishment" (*1 En.* 53:3; cf. "spirits of retribution" of *T. Levi* 3:2, etc.). This understanding would better correspond to the second account of the Builders, where they have the "appearance of dogs" (3:3). The guarding of the Gates of the afterworld by beasts is a universal motif cf., e.g., in Greek and Roman traditions: Cerberus, Eurynomos of Pausanias (10.28.7), beasts and snakes (Aristophanes, *Ran.* 143; 278), Hydra (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.560; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.451–52 and *passim*). See also the serpent-like gate keepers of Hades in *2 En.* 42:1; etc. Although normally the netherworld is meant, in *3 Baruch* Hades is located in heaven (for other traditions locating Hades in heaven, see comm. to ch. 4). According to *T. Isaac* 5:8 in the beginning of his heavenly tour the patriarch sees creatures whose "faces were like faces of camels and some were like the faces of dogs; others were like the faces of lions and hyenas and tigers." Their function is to torment the sinners who pass there (to higher heavens?): "They tore him apart, dismembered, and chewed, and swallowed him. After that they ejected him from their mouths and he returned to his original state" (5:12–16). Very similar appearance and function are attributed to the angels of *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*: near the gate of heaven (3:9) Zephaniah finds a "myriad of myriads of angels" with "faces like a leopard, their tusks being outside their mouth like the wild boars" (4:3). They are defined as "the servants of all creation who come to ungodly men and bring them and leave them in this place," where they wait three days before being cast into their eternal punishment (4:6).[63] Note also that Baruch proceeds to heaven accompanied (and defended?) by the "angel of powers/hosts" (cf. *3 Bar.* 1:8G; 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S), whose angelic order according to *T. Adam* 4:5 is supposed "to keep demons from destroying the creation of God."

2.1.5. *Blindness as demonic feature*. The Builders were "smitten with blindness" (3:8G). "Blind" is a common characteristic of archons and evil powers in Gnostic literature (*Hyp. Arch.* 86.27; 87.3–4; 89.25; and

[63] Cf. the Ozhayah Fragment from Geniza comparing heavenly dangers with the attack of wild animals (Schäfer, *Geniza*, 2a:27–32). "Angels of destruction" guarding celesltial gateways is a common place of the Hekhalot literature; see, e.g., *Hekh. Rabbati* 15.8–16.2 (## 213–15).

passim; *Gos. Phil.* 38). The name of the chief demon Sammael (appearing in 4:8G below) is derived from Aram סומא "blind" in *Acts Andr. Matt.* 24 and *Hyp. Arch* ("Sammael which is, 'god of the blind'").[64]

2.2. *Builders and giants.* According to Richard Bauckham, the Builders of *3 Baruch* "perhaps substituted for the two groups of angelic Watchers which Enoch saw in the second and fifth heavens" (2 *En.* 7; 18). It is remarkable that *3 Baruch*, which throughout chapters 2–5 is preoccupied with the stories of Gen. 2–11, makes no reference to the Watchers. The author is perhaps engaged in a polemical rejection of the Enoch tradition so that in addition to substituting Baruch for Enoch he also substitutes the human Builders for the angelic Watchers."[65] Harlow develops this idea, stating that we deal here with "human invasion of the divine realm as a paradigmatic sin of humanity. The message that emerges is quite the obverse of that conveyed by the myth of the Watchers (of which only 4:10 retains a vestige). This myth depicts the origin of evil in the world as an *invasion of earthly realm by divine beings*. The archetypal sin according to *3 Baruch* is the *invasion of the divine realm by human beings*."[66]

In fact, the demonic creatures of the lower heaven, introduced as the Tower builders, are not a substitution of the Watchers or their opposite. On the contrary, our text most probably implicitly identifies them with the Watchers' offspring, the giants (4:10).[67] The Builders are identified with the surviving giants according to a tradition known to Pseudo-Eupolemus cited by Alexander Polyhistor:

> Babylon was first founded by those who escaped the Flood. They were giants, and they built the Tower well known in history [εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς γίγαντας οἰκοδομεῖν δὲ τὸν ἱστορούμενον πύργον]. When it was destroyed by God's power, these giants were scattered over the whole earth. (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 9.17.2–3)

Another fragment of the same origin speaks about Belos, a survivor of the destroyed giants, who built for himself a tower in Babel (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 9.18.2). The brief evidence of these two fragments brings to-

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64 For the analysis of this name see Bullard, *Hypostasis*, 51–54.

65 Bauckham, "Hell," 372. For more on "Enochic materials" in *3 Baruch* see also comm. to ch. 4; Himmmelfarb, *Ascent*, 93; Orlov, "Flooded Arboretums."

66 Harlow, *Baruch*, 59.

67 For a detailed analysis of the identification of the builders of the Tower of Babel and the giants see Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'Giants';" see also Reeves, "Utnapishtim;" Huggins, "Noah;" Wright, *Origin*.

gether and identifies both enigmatic images of *3 Baruch*, the Builders and the Giants, of which, as we learn below, 409,000 were destroyed by the Flood (4:10). Nimrod, who was known as an instigator of the building of the Tower (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.4.2–3; *Gen. Rab.* 23.7; 26.4; 42.4; *b. Hul.* 89a; *Abod. Zar.* 53b; *Pesah.* 94b; *Erub.* 53a; *Pirqe R. El.* 24), is called "giant" (γίγας) in LXX Gen 10:8 and 9.[68] Giants Otus and Ephialtes of *Odyssey* 11.305–20 were involved in a similar attempt to build a mountain in order to ascend heaven. Philo refers to this story and compares it to the biblical account (*Conf.* 2). The motif of the identification of the Tower builders with Nephilim has survived till the ninth century in the work of Hiwi al-Balkhi (Saadia, *Polemic Against Hiwi al-Balkhi* 31–34).

See also the mention of the giants in the context of an assertion about the inaccessibility of celestial Wisdom:

> In it [God's house] were born the giants, renowned at the first, stalwarts, skilled in war. Not these did God choose, nor did he give them the way of understanding. They perished for lack of prudence, perished through their folly. Who has gone up to the heavens and taken her [Wisdom], or brought her down from the clouds? Who has crossed the sea and found her … (*1 Bar.* 3:26–30)

2.3. *Demons and giants.* The two identifications of the Builders proposed above – with demons and with giants – do not necessarily contradict each other. As noticed by Loren Stuckenbruck, "the implications of the giants traditions for concepts of demonology at the turn of the Common Era have until now been insufficiently recognized."[69] In fact, according to Enochic etiology of demons they may be the dead giants, i.e., the demonic spirits released from the bodies of the giants:

> You [Watchers] have defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives and acted like the sons of earth, and begotten giants … But now the giants, who were begotten of spirit and of flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon earth, and on earth shall be their dwelling. The spirits that have gone forth from the body of their flesh are evil spirits, because they came into being from men, and from the holy Watchers is the origin of their creation. They shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called. As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth begotten upon earth, on earth shall be their dwelling. (*1 En.* 15:3–10)

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[68] Cf. Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'Giants'," 356.

[69] Ibid., 365.

The identification of demons and giants must have been widely known. Very similar conceptions appear in *Jubilees* (chs. 5 and 10); the *Testament of Solomon* (5:3; 17:1); *Shirot* (4Q510 1.5 and 4Q511 35.7).[70] Many early Christian writers also identified the antedeluvian giants as demons (Justin Martyr, *2Apol.* 2–6; Athenagoras, *Leg.* 24–25; Tertullian, *Apol.* 22.3–4; Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 2.14; Ps.-Clementine *Hom.* 7.18–20).

Both of these conceptions of the origin of demons combined in Jewish lore – as inter-worldy bastards, and as spirits of the deceased ancient and mighty men – were known to Greeks, although separately and without negative connotations: Greek daemons are either the bastards of gods and nymphs (Plato, *Apol.* 15 [27b–e] or they are the spirits of the deceased heroes and the first generations of men (Hesiod, *Op.* 110–139; Plutarch, *Def. Or.* 38 [341b] and *Gen. Socr.* 24 [593d]).

3. *Harmonizing traditions*. Summarizing the data discussed above, we can state that *3 Baruch* tries to combine two contradicting traditions: (1) on the giants that perished in the Flood (as in 4:10; this tradition explains why these legendary creatures no longer exist; see below comm. to "giants" in 4:10), and (2) on the giants that survived the Flood (see above and *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Deut 3:11; *b. Nid.* 61a; *b. Zeb.* 113a-b; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; etc.). The latter tradition explains why some giants still coexisted with Noah's posterity (Num 13:33; Deut 3:11; LXX Gen 10:8, 9) as well as the legends about their involvement in the Tower building (Pseudo-Eupolemus and par.; see above). The harmonizing narrative of *3 Baruch* reconciles the two myths assuming that *although the giants perished, they have survived but in a different quality and location* – not in flesh, but as spiritualized beings inhabiting the lower heaven.

Thus *3 Baruch* also conflates the two motifs of the imprisonment of the fallen Watchers *in heaven* (*1 En.* 18–19; 2 *En.* 7; 18) and of their *demonic offspring* in the underworld (*Jub.* 10:7–11), postulating the imprisonment of the *demonic offspring in heaven*.

3:1. *To the second heaven*. I.e., to the entrance to the second heaven; see comm. to 2:2.

3:1S. *Open doors*. This is the only direct mentioning of *open* doors in the whole text. Gaylord supposes the word "open" to be "an addition under

[70] Ibid., 371–74.

the influence of 11:1[2]."[71] Verse 11:2 of both versions mentions closed gates of the fifth heaven in distinction to the presumably open doors of other heavens.

3:2. *Being borne on wings / flying*. On the flight of the visionary see 2:2G and comm. ibid.

3:2. *60 / 7*. The letters for 60 (CS ѯ < Gk ξ) and 7 (CS ѕ < Gk ζ) are similar. The reading of G seems to be more authentic. The journey to the first heaven takes 30 days, to the third – 185/187 days. Thus, the way to the second heaven is twice as long as to the first, and the journey to the third is approximately three times as long as to the second (progression with a growing coefficient). The duration of the journey to the fourth heaven is not mentioned. For an alternative interpretation see comm. to 10:1G.

3:3S. *Chamber* (**клѣть, полатоу** TB). The most common meaning of the CS word is "cell," "chamber," "house" (never "prison" as in Gaylord's translation).[72] G instead has πεδίον "plain" as in all heavens according to G: first (2:3,4,5), second (G 3:3), third (4:3) and fourth (10:2, 4, 5). That is why, apparently, Gaylord supposes a corruption of the Greek uncial ΠΕΔΙΟΝ to ΚΕΛΛΙΟΝ "cell," "prison."[73] However, S has "plain" (CS **полє**) only twice: in the first (2:3, 4, 5) and the third (4:3) heavens. In the fourth heaven, it is "a mountain" which corresponds to "plain" in G (10:1, 2, 4), and here, in the second heaven, to an enigmatic "great chamber." Thus, G may be suspected as having arisen as a result of harmonization. Moreover, CS **клѣть** might render not only Gk κελλίον and κέλλα but also οἰκία (like in *TS 14th cent.* Gen 24:31, going back to Heb בית), οἶκος (*Upyr* Dan 5:5, Aram היכלא), ταμιεῖον (*TS 14th cent.* Gen. 8:3 (7:28) and Exod 43:30, Heb חדר; cf. *Ostr* Matt 6:6). The form οἰκία (as pl. of τὸ οἰκίον) is attested in early Greek sources as an "abode of a deity" (Homer, *Od.* 12.4; Hesiod, *Theog.* 744) or even "abode of the dead," "netherworld" (Homer, *Il.* 20.64). The term might resemble celestial buildings of the apocalyptic literature (cf., e.g., Ezek 40–48; *1 En.* 14; *2 Bar.* 59:4; *Pr. Azar.* 31–34; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.66ff; 4QShirShabb; Rev 21:9–27; etc.) and later Hekhalot imagery; cf. especially Dan 5:5 where CS **клѣть** renders Gk οἶκος reproducing Aram היכלא (*Upyr* Dan 5:5). Cf. also "The Holy One

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[71] Gaylord, *Baruch*, 665.
[72] Ibid., 664.
[73] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 19.

has shown himself above the angels and opened the firmament, and Isaac has raised his eyes and saw the chambers of the Chariot [חדרי המרכבה]" (*Tan. B.* Toledot 22).

Builders Continued (3:5b–8)

Greek	Slavonic
5b For they whom you see drove forth multitudes of both men and women to make bricks. Among them, one woman, who was making bricks at the time of her delivery, was not allowed to be released, but, making bricks, she gave birth and carried her child in a cloth, and made bricks [again].	5b For at that time they drove forth a multitude of men and women to make bricks. Among them was one woman who was near to give birth, and they did not release her, but stirring [the clay for breaks] she gave birth, and having taken her cloak she wrapped her child, and left her child, and made bricks again.
6 And the Lord appeared to them and confused their languages, when they had built the Tower [to the height of] 463 cubits. 7 And having taken a bore, they were eager to bore heaven, saying, "Let us see whether heaven is [made] of clay, or of copper, or of iron."	6 And the Lord God appeared to them and confused their languages. And they built the Tower [to the height of] 463 cubits. 7 And having taken a bore they came to pierce heaven in order to see what is in heaven, whether heaven is [made] of glass or of copper.
8 When God saw this he did not allow them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of languages, and rendered them as you see."	8 And God saw them and did not hearken to them, but smote them invisibly."

NOTES

3:5G. Drove forth a multitude of men and women (ἐξέβαλλον πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν / **изгнаша мужа и женъ мъножьство**). Despite Gaylord[74] in ms L "multitude" governs both "men" and "women," and **мужа** is a standard acc. pl. Thus, G and S fully correspond. Family β adds here a long interpolation describing labor division. 3:5S. *Who was near* (**приближи сѧ iеи**). Gaylord reconstructs here Gk πληροῦσα τὴν ὥραν instead of πλινθεύσα ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ in G.[75]

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[74] Ibid., 21; Gaylord, *Baruch*, 664.
[75] Ibid.

Stirring [the clay for breaks] (**мѣтѧщи**). Or "travailing." Cf. **метѧщи варъ** "stirring pitch" in the interpolation in the family β. CS **мѣсти** might reproduce Gk ταράσσω, which here may mean "stir" or alternatively περιεργάζομαι "take more pain than enough," ἀσχαλάω "be distressed."[76] "Stirring" corresponds to the parallel in *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Exod 24:10 (see in comm. ad loc.).

3:5. *Cloth / cloak* (λέντιον /**окрилъ**). Ms T has **леонтии** (corrupted CS **лентии** corresponding to Gk λέντιον). CS **окрилъ** of other mss must render rather Gk χλαμύς or χιτών than λέντιον.[77]

3:6S. *Confused their languages*. Ms L adds: "and made 72 languages." Family β lacks the whole verse here and expands its content in 1:8.

463 Cubits. This reading, identical to G, occurs only in ms T. Most mss of both families have: "80,000 cubits in height, and in width 520."

3:7S. *What is in heaven*. Lacks in family β.*Of glass or of copper.* Family β: "of stone, or of glass, or of copper."

3:8. *When God saw this he did not allow them / And God saw them and did not hearken to them*. The same verb (Gk συγχωρέω) is used as in 3:5 (where a woman "was not allowed to be released"). S has CS **послоушати** "listen, hearken, obey" (like Gk ἀκούω or Heb **שמע**) instead.

With blindness / invisibly (ἐν ἀορασίᾳ / **невидимо**). S misinterpreted Gk ἐν ἀορασίᾳ in adverbial meaning (like ἀοράτως or ἀορασίτως "invisibly"). Family β has in place of this the following verse: "And having seen their folly, he smote them with an invisible staff and divided their languages into 72 languages. And they went each with his language. For previously they spoke one language – Syriac – from Adam and until the building of the Tower."[78]

COMMENTARY

Here we learn an *exemplum* of the Builders' cruelty, the goals of their project, and their punishment. This passage could have been a conclusion of the second version of the Builders Account. In this case, it is an expanded variant of the words "and the Lord banished them" at the end of the first version (2:7b). However, more probably the passage is a continuation of the narrative common to both versions.

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[76] See Mikl, 393–394.

[77] Mikl, 335, 499; Srezn, 2.648.

[78] The notion of Syriac as the primeval language appears in Slavic cultural milieu as early as the 9th–10th century – in *On the Letters* of Chrabr the Monk.

3:5. *Among them, one woman, who was making bricks at the time of her delivery*, etc. A very similar story, pertaining to brick-making (although during the Egyptian enslavement based on Exod 1:14), is found in *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Exod 24:10: "there were women treading clay with their husbands; a delicate young pregnant woman was also there, and made abortive and the embryo was beaten down with the clay;" cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 24; 48; *Sefer HaYashar*, Noah.[79] The only example of the Builders' cruelty in *3 Baruch* is against a woman in travail. This may count in favor of the identification of the Builders with demons, who are known as especially harmful for children (particularly newborns) and pregnant women (*1 En.* 15:12; *Test. Sol.* 2; 13; *Apoc. Dan.* 12:1–2; *Acts Thom.* 12; Justin Martyr, *1 Apology* 5.2; etc.). Demons also hurt the children of the wicked in *3 Bar.* 16:3 below. The motif of the demonic attack against women in childbirth and newborn children was allegorically developed in Rev 12:1–6.

3:6. *They had built the Tower [to the height of] 463 cubits.* On diverse extraordinary dimensions of the Tower, see *Jub.* 10:21; *Gen. Rab.* 38.8; *Tan. B.* 1.54; *Tan.* Noah 1; *Pirqe R. El.* 24; *Seder Eliyahu Rab.* 21, 118; and *Aseret Dibrot* 46.

3:7. *And having taken a bore, they were eager to bore heaven, saying, "Let us see whether heaven is [made] of clay, or of copper, or of iron / they came to pierce heaven in order to see what is in heaven, whether heaven is [made] of glass or of copper.*" They ignorantly planned to transfix heaven, the thickness of which is "as great as is the distance from earth to heaven" (see 2:5 above, and comm. ibid.)

Other accounts also associate the building of the Tower with sharp tools: an idol on the top of the Tower held a sword (*Gen. Rab.* 38.7; *Tan. B.* Noah 27); they cast arrows towards heavens (*Sefer HaYashar* 9.29; cf. *b. Git.* 56a). This motif might originate from the exegesis of the Heb דברים אחדים "one speech" (Gen 11:1) as דברים חדים "sharp things." This direction is traced through *Gen. Rab.* 38.7, where דברים חדים is interpreted as "sharp words."

Picard maintains that the account of the Builders in *3 Baruch* is an allegorical representation of Hellenistic sophists, concerned with the physical nature of heaven, and opposed to Philo's position of the incomprehensibility of heaven (*Somn.* 1.4 [21–24]).[80] As noted by Harlow, this is hardly con-

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[79] Cf. Picard, "Autres," 30–35.

[80] Picard, "Autres," 14, 33–39; idem, "Observationes," 79.

vincing in light of Baruch's own consistent interest in physical dimensions and mechanisms of heaven throughout the book.[81] We deal here not with the problem of forbidden knowledge, but rather with the esoteric limitation of access to this knowledge: celestial mysteries are forbidden for the wicked but revealed to chosen pious. This position is well articulated in *1 En.* 65:11; *4 Ezra* 12:36–38; 14:26; Philo, *Sacr.* 15.60; *Cher.* 14.48; *m. Hag.* 2.1 (cf. comm. to "be silent" in 1:3S).

As for the material of which the heaven is made, this was a natural object of human curiosity from very ancient times. According to the Akkadian *KAR* 307, the floors of all three firmaments are of different kinds of stone (the lowest is green, followed by blue and red).[82] Paved floors of heaven (usually of sapphire) or of the heavenly Temple might be meant in Exod 24:9–10; Ezek 40–42; *1 En.* 14:10; *3 En.* 24:10. In *3 Baruch* stone appears as a possible material only in S, in the mss of the family β (see Notes). The upper firmament of crystal appears in Ezek 1:22 and *b. Hag.* 12 (cf. *3 Bar.* S). Mountains of different materials – iron, copper, silver, gold, soft metal, and lead – are found in heaven by Enoch (*1 En.* 52:2).

B. Sanh. 109a ascribes to the Builders another motif: they were interested to get to the celestial water supply. It also is one of the main elements of our revelation and treated in ch. 10 below (see comm. ibid.).

3:8G. *Smote them with blindness*. S has a corrupted reading: "smote them invisibly" (see Notes). The wicked did not get to celestial secrets and "their own wickedness has blinded them. As for the mysteries of God, they knew them not" (Wis 2:22), whereas to Baruch were revealed "the mysteries of God" (*3 Bar.* 1:4S; 1:8G). Blindness may also be caused by looking at the exalted things: either at the Divine Presence, as with Isaac: "he had seen the Throne of Glory, and from that time his eyes had begun to darken" (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 27:1; cf. *Deut. Rab.* 11.3; *Pirqe R. El.* 32), or at the fiery chariot in which the pious ascend to heaven (*b. B. Mes.* 85b). Notice that God "appeared" to Builders in 3:6.

In the afterlife sinners are punished by blindness in *Apoc. Zeph.* 15–16; *Apoc. Paul* 40; Ethiopic *Apoc. Pet.* 12. This kind of punishment may corroborate the demonic identification of the Builders: demons may be blind (evil powers are "blinded by the Holy Spirit" in *Gos. Phil.* 38; for "blind" archons and Sammael as "god of the blind" see introductory comm. above)

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[81] Cf. also Harlow's criticism of Picard based on rather mystic-realistic than allegorical and emblematic understanding of *3 Baruch* (Harlow, *Baruch*, 115).

[82] Ebelung, *Keilschrifttexte*; Wright, *Heaven*, 35.

and can cause blindness: "The god of this age has blinded the minds of unbelievers" (2 Cor 4:4). See further "the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind" (*T. Sim.* 2:7); "the prince of deceit blinded me" (*T. Jud.* 19:4); "spirit of anger encompasses him with the nets of deceit, and blinds his natural eyes, and through lying darkens his mind, and gives him a sight of his own making" (*T. Dan* 2:4).

The Sodomites were also punished with blindness (Gen 19:11; Wis 19:17). This is one of the punishments of Israel, if the nation will not hearken unto the voice of the Lord (Deut 28:28). Pharaoh's troops were stricken with blindness (*Cant. Rab.* 1.31 and *passim*). Amorites were stricken with blindness, when they were fighting Kenaz (*Bib. Ant.* 27:10) as well as Canaanites fighting Israel (*b. Sot.* 36a). Balaam was blinded for his impure thoughts or intentions (*b. Nid.* 31a; *Num. Rab.* 20.6–12). The Angel Nathaniel did the same to the servants of Jair, in order to save the seven righteous (*Bib. Ant.* 38:3). Samson was blinded by Philistines but as a punishment by God's judgment (*Bib. Ant.* 43:5; *m. Sot.* 1.8). Darius was blinded for keeping Daniel imprisoned (*Maase Daniel* 121–122). "They that accused him [Jesus] were smitten with blindness" (*Infancy Gos. Thom.* (Gk A) 5:1).

II. Beasts or *Abode of Demons*

Beasts: Serpent and Hades (4:1–5G; 4:1–3aS)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And I Baruch said, "Behold, Lord, you have shown me great and wonderful things;	1 And I Baruch said, "The Lord has shown me great things."
and now show me all things for the Lord's sake."	
2 And the angel told me, "Come, let us go through."	2 And the angel said, "Come and let us go through these doors;
	you will see the Glory of God."
[And we entered] with the angel from that place about a 185 days' journey.	And we entered with the angel about a 187 days' journey.
3 And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which looked like a rock.	3a And he showed me a plain, and there was a serpent on a mountain of rock.
And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and impure. 4 And I said, "Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him?"	

and can cause blindness: "The god of this age has blinded the minds of unbelievers" (2 Cor 4:4). See further "the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind" (*T. Sim.* 2:7); "the prince of deceit blinded me" (*T. Jud.* 19:4); "spirit of anger encompasses him with the nets of deceit, and blinds his natural eyes, and through lying darkens his mind, and gives him a sight of his own making" (*T. Dan* 2:4).

The Sodomites were also punished with blindness (Gen 19:11; Wis 19:17). This is one of the punishments of Israel, if the nation will not hearken unto the voice of the Lord (Deut 28:28). Pharaoh's troops were stricken with blindness (*Cant. Rab.* 1.31 and *passim*). Amorites were stricken with blindness, when they were fighting Kenaz (*Bib. Ant.* 27:10) as well as Canaanites fighting Israel (*b. Sot.* 36a). Balaam was blinded for his impure thoughts or intentions (*b. Nid.* 31a; *Num. Rab.* 20.6–12). The Angel Nathaniel did the same to the servants of Jair, in order to save the seven righteous (*Bib. Ant.* 38:3). Samson was blinded by Philistines but as a punishment by God's judgment (*Bib. Ant.* 43:5; *m. Sot.* 1.8). Darius was blinded for keeping Daniel imprisoned (*Maase Daniel* 121–122). "They that accused him [Jesus] were smitten with blindness" (*Infancy Gos. Thom.* (Gk A) 5:1).

II. Beasts or *Abode of Demons*

Beasts: Serpent and Hades (4:1–5G; 4:1–3aS)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And I Baruch said, "Behold, Lord, you have shown me great and wonderful things;	1 And I Baruch said, "The Lord has shown me great things."
and now show me all things for the Lord's sake."	
2 And the angel told me, "Come, let us go through."	2 And the angel said, "Come and let us go through these doors;
	you will see the Glory of God."
[And we entered] with the angel from that place about a 185 days' journey.	And we entered with the angel about a 187 days' journey.
3 And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which looked like a rock.	3a And he showed me a plain, and there was a serpent on a mountain of rock.
And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and impure. 4 And I said, "Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him?"	

5 And the angel said, "The dragon is he
who eats the bodies of those who pass
through life wickedly, and he is nourished
by them.

NOTES

4:1G. *Great and wonderful things / great things* (μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά / **велиꙗ**). Gaylord supposes that G "may be a Christian addition reflecting Rev 15:1, 3."[83] Actually, the same word-combination occurs in LXX Job 42:3, while MT there has only נפלאות. The exact equivalent of the combination – Heb גדולות ונפלאות – MT has in Ps 130:1; cf. also Gk θαυμασία μεγάλα for Heb נפלאות גדולות in Ps 136:4. The same expression appears also in the short rescension of Tob 12:22; and similar "mysterious and great things" in *Apoc. Abr.* 9:6. "Great (things)" of S, found elsewhere, has a close parallel in the similar context in *T. Job* 8:19 also with respect to natural phenomena. Cf. comm. to "mysteries" in 1:6 above.

And now show me all things for the Lord's sake. Lacking in S most probably as a result of homoeoteleuton (in distinction to G, the verse of S ends with the word "Lord").

Harlow supposes that this verse originally concluded with the regular formula for previous transitions to the next heaven, which has been omitted as a result of a parablepsis: "And having taken me the angel brought me to the third heaven. And he showed me there also a door like the previous ones."[84]

4:2. *Go through*. CS **проидемъ/проидевѣ** of mss TB corresponds to Gk διέλθωμεν of the extant Greek mss, while ms L has **вънидѣвѣ** "we (dual.) will enter;" cf. 3:1–2, where CS **вънидѣвѣ** corresponds to Gk εἰσήλθομεν.

4:2G. *[And we entered]*. G has lit.: "Come, let us go through with the angel …" Since the angel is the one who is speaking, and since S here, as well as a similar description in 3:1–2, offers a better reading, we can suppose that G might omit these words as a result of homoeoteleuton (εἰσέλθωμεν … εἰσῆλθον). The restored words comprise the minimal emendation; it is possible that G contained the whole text preserved in S from "these doors" to "we entered."

4:2S. *187 days' journey.* "187" is the reading of ms L; mss TB have "40"; ms K – "85"; mss SZ – "32"; mss PVID – "70". Gaylord refers to M. Veder suggesting that "187" emerged as a misreading of original "185" (identical to G) in the hypothetical Glagolitic fore-text;[85] cf. a similar assumption of the misreading of "6" as "8" in a Cyrillic transliteration of possibly originally Glagolitic text in *Apoc. Abr.* 19:6.[86]

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[83] Gaylord, *Baruch*, 666.
[84] Harlow, *Baruch*, 118–119.
[85] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 31.
[86] Rubinkiewicz, Lunt "Apocalypse," 698, n. 19f.

4:3G. *A serpent, which looked like a rock* (ὄφιν ὡς ὁράσεως πέτρας). Or "appeared to be a rock." Mss AB both have a form πέθρας. That might be the reason why James (referring to J. A. Robinson) emends the phrase to ὡς ὁράσεως πλέθρα "200 plethra [in length]."[87]

4:3S. *A serpent on a mountain of rock* (**змиа на горѣ каменѣ**). Gaylord suggests that the *Vorlage* of S had ἐπὶ ὄρους πέτρας similarly to G (see previous note and comm. ad loc.).[88]

4:3–5G. All the description of Hades is lacking S. See comm.

4:3G. *Appearance*. Gk ἡ εἰδέα is supposed on basis of η ειδια A and οι ηδια B.

4:5G. *Those who pass through life wickedly* [κακῶς]. Cf. "those who pass through life *rightly* [καλῶς]" in 11:7G.

COMMENTARY

*Celestial Bestiary**

As is typical of many apocalypses, *3 Baruch* is rich with animalistic and botanic imagery: chimeric creatures of the lower heavens, gigantic celestial beasts, angelic horses, oxen, and lambs, celestial birds, trees and flowers.[89] The author of *3 Baruch* was apparently "like the many, who impiously suppose that the celestial and divine intelligences are many-footed or many-faced beings, or formed with the brutishness of oxen, or the savageness of lions, or the curved beaks of eagles, or the feathers of birds …" (Ps.-Dionysius Areopagite, *Cael. Hier.* 2). After meeting zoomorphic creatures in the lower heaven(s), the protagonist proceeds to three Great Beasts of the next firmament:

(1) Serpent (4:3), called also "Dragon" (4:4; 5:2), drinking from the sea and feeding upon the bodies of the wicked (according to G). It is unclear whether this is identical to the Serpent that seduced the first humans (4:8S and 9:7).
(2) Hades or Monster (ἀπηνής), which "also drinks from the sea" (only in G), surrounds or interlaces with Serpent in 4:4G, but is identified with the Serpent's belly in 5:3.

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87 James, "Baruch," lix.
88 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 33.
89 Cf., e.g., Dan 7–8; *1 En.* 85–90; *2 En.* 12; 15:1; 19:6; 42:1; *4 Ezra* 11:1–12:2, 11–32; Rev 4:6ff; 9:7–10, 17–19; 13:1–18; 17:3, 12; *Herm. Vis.* 4.1; etc.
* The commentary is based on my article Kulik, "Mysteries."

(3) Sun Bird (Phoenix), "a bird large as nine mountains," accompanying the sun's chariot and "guarding the world" from its rays (6:2–12; 6:14S; 7:3G; 8:1–2, 6).

As in the case of the Builders in the previous chapters, the placement of these images in the ancient lore must be examined in conjunction with the textual history of the book. The descriptions of the three beasts are separated only by the excursus on the vine in 4:8–17G; 4:6–17S (possibly interpolated; see comm. ibid.). If this passage is omitted, we have a coherent account of three creatures. Genesis (1:20–25; cf. Ps 8:7–8), as well as Plato (*Tim.* 39e–40a; 92c–d), Ovid (*Met.* 1.72–75) and Philo (*Opif.* 20.62–21.64), divided living beings into three classes: water-creatures, birds, and land-animals. Gigantic beasts representing each of the environments or ruling them are well attested almost universally (e.g., *Bundahishn* 18–19), but especially close are the motifs connected to the triad of Leviathan, Behemoth, and Ziz, all mentioned together in the Rabbinic interpretation of Ps 50:10–11 (and adjacent to the discussion of the Behemoth's drinking habits):

> As a recompense for what I have forbidden you [says God], I have allowed something for you. As a recompense for the prohibition of fish – Leviathan, a clean fish; as a recompense for the prohibition of birds – Ziz, which is a clean bird … As a recompense for animals [Heb בהמות] – "Behemoth [Heb בהמות] on thousand mountains." [Job 50:10] (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10; cf. *Pesiq. R.* 16.4; 48.3; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.1 and 3; *Tan.* Pinehas 12; Beshalah 24; *Num. Rab.* 21.18)

The supposedly unsystematic description of these creatures in *3 Baruch* is among the main factors which led scholars to speak of the "naïve childishness" of this work.[90] Mary Dean-Otting called these descriptions "trivial invention" and a "somewhat confused picture."[91] Both the message, and even the place of these figures in different traditions, remain unclear. The images of the Serpent and Hades are especially enigmatic (the bird will be treated separately in ch. 6). The set of features ascribed to the Serpent and Hades or an integrated Serpent-Hades in *3 Baruch* is unique, but every separate characteristic (or sometimes several characteristics combined) may be traced in diverse traditions. In order to understand the images in the context of ancient lore, we will examine classified elements of the beasts descriptions against main relevant parallels. The table is followed by the commentary.

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[90] Ferrar, "Baruch," 93.

[91] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 120.

	G	S	Main Parallels
1			*Identity*
1.1	Celestial or Cosmic Serpent		*CTA* 23.61–62 (Mot); Plato, *Tim.* 33 (living being); Rev 12 (great dragon); *Pistis Sophia* 3.126 (great dragon); Origen, *Cels.* 6.25 (Leviathan and Behemoth); Philo of Byblos, *On Snakes* (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 1.10.45–53; hawk-shaped serpent); *Acts Thom.* 32 (reptile); Jerome, Isa 27:1 (Leviathan)
1.2	Sea Dragon		Isa 27:1; Ps 104:26; Job 41 (Leviathan); Ezek 29:3 (great *tanin*); *1 En.* 60:7; *2 Bar.* 29:4; *4 Ezra* 6:52 (Leviathan and Behemoth)
1.3	Personified Hades		Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Hos 13:14 (= 1 Cor 15:55); Ps 141:7; Prov 1:12; Rev 6:8; 20:13–14
1.4	Celestial Hades		Plato, *Phaedr.* 246d; 247c; Plutarch, *Fac.* 27–29; *Sera* 563d; *Gen. Socr.* 590b; *1 En.* 18–19; *2 En.* 10; Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 20–22; *b. Tamid* 32b
1.5	Serpent and Hades as a pair (4:3–4)		Job 41:8–9; *1 En.* 60:7; *2 Bar.* 29:4; *4 Ezra* 49–52; *b. B. Bat.* 74b (Leviathan and Behemoth); *Apoc. Abr.* 10:10 (Leviathans); 21:4 (Leviathan and his spouse); *Lad. Jac.* 6:13 (Leviathan and *Falkon*); Rev 6:8; 20:13–14 (Hades and Death)
1.6	Serpent and Hades as a bipartite being (4:3–4)		Job 41:8–9; *1 En.* 60:7; cf. *caduceus*
1.7	Hades as Serpent's belly (5:3)		*Apoc. Abr.* 31 (Hades as a belly of Azazel); *Pistis Sophia* 3.126; cf. 3.2
1.8		Serpent as Hades (5:1–3)	
2			*Names*
2.1	Serpent (Gk ὄφις; 4:3) and Dragon (Gk δράκων; elsewhere)	Serpent (CS **змиа/змии**)	*Passim*

	G	S	Main Parallels
2.2	Hades (Gk Ἅδης) and Monster (Gk ἀπηνής; 4:4)	Hades (CS ѧдъ)	*Passim*
3		*Functions*	
3.1	Hades *also* drinks from the sea (4:6), and rivers fill the sea again (4:7)	Serpent drinks from the sea (5:3), and rivers fill the sea again (4:5)	*b. B. Bat.* 74b (Prince of the Sea); 72b; 75a (Leviathan); *Lev. Rab.* 22.9–10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.58a; 48.3; *Tan.* Pinehas 12; *Num. Rab.* 21.18 (Behemoth)
		"if the Serpent did not drink one cubit from the sea, there was no dry land on earth" (β 4:5)	*b. B. Bat.* 74b (Prince of the Sea/Rehab); *Pesiq. R.* 48.3 (Leviathan)
3.2	Serpent eats the bodies of the wicked (4:5)		*Devouring serpent: Enuma Elish* 4.97 (Tiamat); *CTA* 4.7.47–52; 5.2.2–4; 23.61–62 (Mot); Jer 51:34 (*tannin*/dragon); *T. Jud* 21:7; *Jos. Asen.* 12:11 (sea monsters) *Great eaters: CTA* 4.7.47–52 (Mot); *Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6; *Pesiq. R.* 16.4 and 48.4; *Num. Rab.* 21.18 (Behemoth) *Devouring Satan: Apoc. Abr.* 30 (Hades as a belly of Azazel) *Devouring Hades:* see Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Ps 141:7; Prov 1:12 *Belly of Hades*: Sir 51:5; *1 En.* 63:14; *4 Ezra* 4:42 Cf. 1.7; 4.3
3.3		Serpent "eats earth like grass" (4:3)	Gen 3:14 (serpent) *CTA* 4:7:47–52 (Mot)
3.4		"Hades is insatiable" (5:3)	Prov 30:20; Hab 2:5

	G	S	Main Parallels
4		*Descriptions*	
4.1	Serpent looks like a rock (4:3)	Serpent is on a mountain of a rock (4:3S)	*PRU* 2.3.8–10; Ps 50:10 (acc. to *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6, etc.; Behemoth); *1 En.* 60:8 (Behemoth); *2 Alphabet of Ben Sira* 27–28 (Leviathan)
4.2	Hades is dark and impure (4:3)		*ANET* 107; *Descent of Ishtar* 1; *Epic of Gilgamesh* 7.4.33; Hesiod, *Theog.* 729; Job 10:21–22; *1 En.* 10:4; 82:2; 103:8; *2 En.* 7:1–2; Matt 8:12; 22:3; 25:30; *Exod. Rab.* 14; *b. Yeb.* 109b et pass.
4.3		God kindled Serpent's heart (or belly β) (4:7)	Job 41:13, 23 (Leviathan); *Apoc. Abr.* 31 (Azazel); *b. B. Bat.* 75a (Leviathan)
4.4	Hades'/Serpent's belly dimensions (5:3)		*Apoc. Paul* 32; *b. Pesah.* 94a; *b. Taan.* 10a; *Cant. Rab.* 6.9; *Pesiq. R.* 41; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 71

1. *Identity*

1.1. *Celestial or cosmic serpent.* Among archaic monsters of the ancient Near East, Ugaritic Mot and Egyptian Apep (Apopis, Apophis) share several features of the Serpent of *3 Baruch*, with regard both to location and to the close association with the personified devouring Hades. Ugaritic Mot had "[one lip to ea]rth, one lip to heaven. [… t]ongue to the stars. Baal entered his mouth, descended to his belly" (*CTA* 23.61–62).[92] Plato has described the primeval self-sufficient living being encircling the universe and "created without legs and without feet" (*Tim.* 33), based most probably on the well known Ouroboros imagery.[93]

According to Rev 12, the celestial "Great Dragon," "ancient Serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan," has been cast down during the angelic rebellion and "their place was not found any longer in heaven" (Rev 12:8–9). If *3 Baruch* also identifies the Serpent with Satan(iel), it must represent an alternative tradition (see below). Certain similarity was found also between the Serpent of *3 Baruch* and celestial and cosmic serpents of some marginal

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[92] Cf. "his [dragon's] tail has swept a third of the stars out of the sky" (Rev 12:4).

[93] Our text does not enable to designate whether we deal here with a serpent as *axis mundi*, a foundation of the earth, or *circuitus mundi,* Ouroboros (cf. Whitney, *Beasts*, 114).

groups either sharing the legacy of early Judaism, or of common Mediterranean lore, e.g., the Gnostic cosmic serpent of *Pistis Sophia*, who is a place of the afterlife torment:

> The outer darkness is a Great Dragon, whose tail is in his mouth, outside the whole world and surrounding the whole world. And there are many regions of chastisement within it. (*Pistis Sophia* 3.126)[94]

See the description of Leviathan from the Ophitic cosmological schema used by Celsus:

> There was a diagram of ten circles, each separated from the other, yet joined together by one circle which is said to be the soul of the universe and which is named Leviathan … Instead of the word "dragon," the term "Leviathan" is in the Hebrew … We also find a being named Behemoth in it, as if he were something placed below the lowest circle. The one who invented this horrid diagram inscribed Leviathan on its circumference and at its center, setting the name twice. Moreover, Celsus says that the diagram was "divided by a thick black line," and this line he asserted was called Gehenna, which is Tartar. (Origen, *Cels.* 6.25)[95]

See also Philo of Byblos, *On Snakes*:

> The Egyptians still describe the world according to the same idea. They draw an encompassing sphere, of the color of the sky and of fire, and a hawk-shaped serpent stretched across the middle of it, the whole shape is like our letter *theta*. They indicate that the circle is the world, and they signify that the snake in the middle holding it together is Good Daemon. (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 1.10.45–53)

Mandaean Ur also separates heaven from the netherworld and holds impure souls in his belly.[96] The *Acts of Thomas* distributes these functions between two serpents, father and son:

> I am a reptile of the reptile nature and noxious son of the noxious father, of him that hurt and smote the four brethren which stood upright. I am son to him that sits on a throne over all the earth that receives back his own from them that borrow. I am son to him that girds about the sphere, and I am kin to him that is outside the Ocean, whose tail is set in his own mouth. I am he that entered through the fence into Paradise and spoke with Eve the things which my father bade me speak with her … I am one that inhabits and holds the Abyss of Hades. (*Acts Thom.* 32)

These Gnostic and Mandaean witnesses may be especially relevant for *3 Baruch*. If we accept that Baruch travels horizontally through the sun gates located on the horizon just above the surface (constituting "plains" between

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[94] Translations from Mead, *Pistis Sophia*.
[95] Cf. Welburn, "Ophite Diagram."
[96] Drower, *Mandaeans*, 253; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 124–127.

the gates?) that divides higher and lower realms (see comm. to "as if [borne] on wings" in 2:2G), then the Serpent with Hades may not so much be celestial beings as they are geographical dividers separating heaven from the netherworld (or at least located on the separation point between them), like the cosmic serpents of Celsus and Philo of Byblos in the sources above.[97]

Among later sources, celestial Leviathan is known to Jerome (on Isa 27:1), who, referring to *judaica fabula*, mentions that Leviathan lives not only under the ground, but also in the air. In late midrash Leviathan is identified with the vault of heaven to which the signs of Zodiac are affixed; see Kimhi on Isa 27:1 (referring to *Pirqe R. El.*): "And this is also in *Pirqe de R. Eliezer* Teli [Zodiac of Draco] moves the luminaries, and it is stretched from one end to another as a Pole of the Crooked Serpent" (cf. Kalir on Isa 27:1; *Kaneh* 30c and 32c–32d; *Rokeah* to Yetsirah 14c; *Zohar* 2.34b).[98]

1.2. *Sea dragon.* Our Serpent is also a sea dragon, an almost universal image found *mutatis mutandis* in diverse *Drachentraditionen*, including Near Eastern, Hellenistic, and particularly Jewish. Biblical תנין (Gk δράκων of LXX) is known as a "dragon that is in the sea" (Isa 27:1), "the great dragon that lays in the midst of his rivers" (Ezek 29:3; cf. rivers in the Serpent's description in *3 Bar.* 4:7/5 and in Leviathan accounts in *b. B. Bat.* 74b; see below); cf. "who [God] smashed the heads of the dragons on the waters" (Ps 74:13). See also sea, abysses, and "dragons" (Heb תנינים, Gk δράκοντες) mentioned together in Ps 148:7; Job 7:12 (and Gen 1:21, where the same Hebrew word is rendered in LXX as "the great fish [pl.]"); Rahab of Isa 51:9–10. The "Crooked/Pole Serpent" Leviathan is located in the sea, sometimes even rules it or controls the sources of water (Isa 27:1; Ps 104:26; Job 41; *1 En.* 60:7; *2 Bar.* 29:4; *4 Ezra* 6:52). For Leviathan and Behemoth drinking from the sea, see 3.1 below.

1.3. *Personified Hades.* For Sheol/Hades as a personified figure see Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Ps 141:7; Prov 1:12; Rev 6:8; 20:13–14; cf. Hos 13:14 cited in 1 Cor 15:55 (אהי קטבך שאול / ποῦ τὸ κέντρου σου Ἅδη, "Where,

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[97] Cf. also Paradise "between corruptibility and incorruptibility" in *2 En.* 8:5.

[98] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.45. Cf. also Dragon, the sun and the moon united in the Rabbinic prohibitions referring to pagan practices in Palestine: "If one finds utensils upon which is the figure of the sun or moon or a dragon, he shall cast them into the Dead Sea (*m. Abod. Zar.* 3.3; cf. *t. Abod. Zar* 6); cf. "[Images of] all the planets are permissible except that of the sun and moon; of all faces are permissible except that of a human face; and of all figures are permissible except that of the dragon" (*b. Abod. Zar.* 42b).

O Hades, is your sting?"). In some of these sources it is paired with Death. For the development of the personification of both these images, see the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

1.4. *Hell in Heaven.* An abode of souls, whether Greek Hades or Jewish Sheol, is normally located "below." Greek views which may stand behind the placement of Hades in heaven were analyzed by Dean-Otting and Harlow.[99] Plato considered heaven to be a post-mortem abode of all kinds of souls (*Phaedr.* 246d; 247c). Stoics believed that souls go eventually to the sun and stay for an interim period of purification close to the sun and the moon. This cosmology, "new" for the Hellenistic world, is probably of Oriental origin, having coexisted with the traditional conception of the afterdeath realm in the underworld. It is attested in Plutarch (*Fac.* 27–29; *Sera* 563d; *Gen. Socr.* 590b).[100] In the former dialogue souls are punished or purified in the sphere of the moon exactly as in *3 Baruch*, where Hades is located in the same heaven with the sun and the moon.[101] See a description of Egyptian astrologist Teukros (1st cent. CE), where the heavenly serpent is standing over Zodiac scorpion, in whose claws Hades lies.[102]

In Jewish tradition only the righteous normally deserve to be placed in heaven (Philo, *Sacr.* 2.5; *b. Ket.* 104a; *b. Hag.* 12b; *Midr. HaG.* Gen 50:26; and *passim*). However, in some Jewish sources the place of "eternal recompense" for the wicked is located in heaven. This is most probably the case of the "prison house" for heavenly powers in *1 En.* 18–19. In *2 En.* 10 it is even the same third heaven as in the extant redaction of *3 Baruch*. Two lowest heavens of a total of three, or seven in different versions of the *Testament of Levi*, are also connected with punishment: "In it [the lowest heaven] are all the spirits of those dispatched to achieve the punishment of mankind" (*T. Levi* 3:3). Souls are tortured in the fourth and fifth heavens in Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 20–22 or inside the Great Dragon surrounding the world (*Pistis Sophia* 3.126). According to one of the opinions presented in *b. Tamid* 32b, Hell may be found above the firmament (גיהנם למעלה מן הרקיע).

In *3 Baruch* both Hell and Paradise are probably in the same heaven, since the story of the Tree of Knowledge is adjacent (even intervenes) to the Hades account. Hell and Paradise are situated side by side in *2 En.* 8–10;

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[99] See Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 122–24; Harlow, *Baruch*, 1996, 125, n. 50.

[100] Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology*, 45.

[101] Rabbis also connected Hell and the sun: the sun on its setting passes through Hell in order to receive there its fire (*b. B. Bat.* 84a; cf. "fire of the west" in *1 En.* 17:4–6).

[102] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 124.

Pesiq. Rab Kah. 30.191b; *Eccl. Rab.* 7.14; *Midr. Tannaim* 224. Paradise of the third heaven in *2 En.* 8:5 divides between "corruptible" and "incorruptible." In *T. Levi* 3 heavens are probably divided to two realms: two lower and the higher heaven of "holy ones" (see below in the comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*). This recalls ancient cosmologies which distinguish between irregular *ouranos* and higher *kosmos*.[103] Likewise, also in *3 Baruch* the lower heavens serve as an abode of the demonic Builders and even of "impure" Hades. On demons in heaven, see comm. to ch. 3 (*Implied Demonology* 2.1.3).

1.5. *Two together.* The main obscurity in the description of the Beasts in G is whether (1) there are two beasts, Serpent and Hades, or (2) these are two names of the same creature, or (3) the latter is the belly of the former. The problem was regarded as resulting from textual corruption, and most commentators supposed that S reflected the more coherent version.[104] Gaylord considers the whole description of Hades to be an intrusion, since it conflicts with 5:3G, where Hades is identified with the Serpent's belly, and since "the Slavic here in vv. 3–5 represents a tightly knit, consistent sequence of questions and answers." He believes that "the Greek version has resulted from a reworking of basically cosmological and ouranological work by inserting theological material," as in G 4:3, 4–5, 15; 10:5; and 11:7 (see comm. ibid.).[105] Dean-Otting assumes an intentional puzzle and speaks of Beasts as "separate entities but intertwined to the extent that Hades is the belly of the dragon."[106]

However, the "duality" of the celestial beast, or its bipartite nature, or simply the existence of a couple of such monsters can be supported by the parallels below. A similar problem characterizes Leviathan and his rival or spouse (Tanin, Behemoth, or female Leviathan) in some sources. The tradition may be connected or at least likened to other serpentine pairs: Egyptian chaotic adversary of the sun Apopis and the world-encircling Ouroboros, bounding between the ordered cosmos and chaos around it; Babylonian Tiamat ("Abyss") and Kingu ("Serpent") of *Enuma Elish* 1; Greek pair of Ophion and Eurynome initially ruling the sky and then thrown into Oceanus or Tartarus (Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 1.498ff; Nonnus of Panopolis, *Dionys.* 8.110ff). Behemoth, identified in early sources with

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103 Andersen, "2 Enoch," 116, n. 81.

104 Cf., e.g., Fischer, *Eschatologie*, 79ff; Harlow, *Baruch*, 1996, 121.

105 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 33; Gaylord, *Baruch*, 666.

106 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 120–121.

Wild Ox (Heb שור הבר/תור בר; cf. *Tg Ps* 50:10), often appears together with Leviathan, as a *pair* or even an *indivisible unity*. Compare "this dragon and this monster around him" (ὁ δράκων οὗτος καὶ τίς ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής) of *3 Bar.* 4:4 with Leviathan and Behemoth in the battle: "One is so close to the other [אֶחָד בְּאֶחָד יִגַּשׁוּ] that even air cannot enter between them. One joins the other [אִישׁ בְּאָחִיהוּ יִדְבָּקוּ], they cling together and cannot be parted [וְיִתְלַכְּדוּ וְלֹא יִתְפָּרְדוּ]" (Job 41:8–9); cf. *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* Suppl. 2.4 where this image is developed. Leviathan and Behemoth are undivided until the Judgment Day:

> On that day two monsters will be separated, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abysses of the sea over the sources of the waters; and the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named Debdayn, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell. (*1 En.* 60:7–8)

Or, on the contrary, the pair was initially separate:

> Then you preserved two living creatures which you created; the name of one you called Behemoth and the name of the other Leviathan. And you separated one from the other, for the seventh part where the water had been gathered together could not hold them both. And you gave Behemoth one of the parts which had been dried up on the third day, to live in it, where there are a thousand mountains, but to Leviathan you gave the seventh part, the watery part [thus in Latin; "of the watery part" in other versions]. (*4 Ezra* 6:49–52)

See further: "Leviathan the slant serpent and Leviathan the tortuous serpent he created male and female; and had they mated with one another they would have destroyed the whole world" (*b. B. Bat.* 74b).

The pair is a regular element of *all* major Jewish apocalyptic works, except *2 Enoch*. In addition to *1 Enoch* and *4 Ezra* it is found also in *2 Baruch*:

> And Behemoth shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have preserved until that time; and then they shall be for food for all that are left. (*2 Bar.* 29:4)

Similarly, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* a unique plural "Leviathans" (10:10) and especially a reconstructed reading of 21:4[107] may refer to Leviathan and his spouse. Moreover, Leviathans and Hades appear in sequence in 10:10–11: "I [Yahoel] am made in order to rule over the Leviathans, since the attack and the threat of every reptile are subjugated to me. I am ordered to unlock Hades and to destroy those who worship the dead." Le-

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[107] "Leviathan and his spouse (קניעתו)" instead of "and his possession [קנינו]." A conjecture proposed by Ginsberg (*Legends*, 5.45, n. 127).

viathan is mentioned in a pair with an enigmatic "lawless Falcon" in *Lad. Jac.* 6:13:

> And the Lord will pour out his wrath against Leviathan the sea-serpent (and) will kill the lawless Falcon [cf. *kfalkona gargailyuy{a}* in 5:15] with the sword, because he will raise by his pride the wrath against the God of gods.

The CS **фалконъ** "falcon" (?) – was interpreted by Horace Lunt as going back to Gk *θαλκον, an anagram of *ακλαθον, a transliteration of Heb עקלתון "crooked," a common epithet for Leviathan (Isa 27:1; *passim*).[108]

Cf. also pairs of Sheol/Hades and Abbadon (Prov 27:20); Hades and Death (Rev 6:8; 20:13–14); Hades and Beliar (*Gos. Bart.* 1); a pair of serpents in *Acts Thom.* 32.

1.6. *Two in One.* The pair may be a bipartite description of one *Chaos-monster.*[109] The accounts of two interlaced monsters in Job 41:8–9 or inseparable until "that day" in *1 En.* 60:7–9 (see above) may refer not to a pair, but to a bipartite monster. The obscure account of *3 Baruch* may derive from this archaic motif.

The description of *3 Bar.* 4:4 which mentions "this dragon and this monster *around him*" (ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής) may refer to intertwined creatures, Serpent and Hades (also serpentine – "which also is similar to him [Serpent]," ὅστις καὶ αὐτὸς παρόμοιός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ as *3 Bar.* 4:6). This image, *caduceus*, a figure of *two* (sometimes one) *serpents intertwined around one another* (or around a pole), is almost universally attested from Sumer to Rome.[110]

1.7. *Hades as Serpent's belly.* "His belly is Hades" (5:3). Hades is a belly of a Serpent Azazel in *Apoc. Abr.* 31:5 (cf. below): "And those who followed after the idols and after their murders will rot in the womb of the Evil One – the belly of Azazel, and they will be burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue." Gnostic celestial dragon also is a place of afterlife torment (*Pistis Sophia* 3.126; see citation in 1.1 above).

1.8. *Serpent as Hades.* In 5:3S, the only instance where Hades is mentioned in S, it is either (1) identified with Serpent's belly (as in G) or (2) only com-

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108 Lunt, "Ladder," 404.

109 Cf. Fuchs, *Mythos*, 225–264.

110 See below for the connection of the image to the Celestial Tree (comm. to 4:8–17). It may also resemble a serpent coiling about Mithraic Aion-Kronos (James, "Baruch," lxi) and Ouroboros encircling the world.

pared to Serpent's belly (as in the reading of ms L; see Notes ibid.),[111] or (3) identified with entire Serpent.[112] In the second case, the whole motif of Hades would be absent in the redaction reflected by S, though probably implied in it, and later clarified on the basis of the additions found in G.

2.1. *The names "Serpent" and "Dragon."* The beast is called "serpent" – Gk ὄφις, CS fem. **змиꙗ** in 4:3 and masc. **змии** in 5:1), and also "dragon" – δράκων; only in G). The latter name in Hebrew (דרקון) in its numerical value accords with the number of 360 rivers in 4:7G (see comm. to "rivers" in 4:7G-5S).[113] The same word is used by LXX for Heb תנין for a "great dragon [ὁ δρακων ὁ μέγας] that lies in the midst of his rivers" (Ezek 29:3).

2.2. *The names "Hades" and "Monster."* The Greek term Ἅδης was widely used in Hellenistic Jewish sources, conflating the features of the Hebrew Sheol, Gehenna, Tofet with Greek concepts of the afterlife abode.[114] Greek Tartarus was similarly adopted (LXX Job 40:15; 41:23; 2 Pet 2:4).

Hades is called "monster," Gk ἀπηνής (4:4). As a noun it is almost unique. As an adjective it appears in Wis 17:19: ἀπηνηστάτων θηρίων φωνή "a voice of monstrous beasts." Gk θηρίον in LXX is a constant equivalent for the Heb בהמות "Behemoth" and it is also "the Beast" of Rev 13:18.

3.1. *Sea Drinking*

Ultimate basin. On Sea Serpents see 1.2 above. Serpent and Hades of *3 Baruch* share their main function with Rabbinic Leviathan and Behemoth, who are both known to drink from the world hydrosystem (or sometimes only of Mediterranean or of Palestine) and thus serve as an ultimate basin for it:

> Where does Behemoth drink from? R. Yohanan and R. Shimon b. Lakish give different answers. R. Yohanan says, "He makes a single draught of what the Jordan pours down in six months. What is his reason? Because it says, 'Behold if a river overflow, he does not tremble' [Job 40:23]." R. Shimon b. Lakish says, "He makes a single draught of what the Jordan pours down in twelve months. What is his reason? 'He is confident, for the Jordan rushes forth to his mouth' [ibid.]. And they contain but sufficient to moisten the beast's mouth." R. Huna in the name of R. Yose said, "They do

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111 In both cases **его** "its" of **чрева его** "its belly" in 5:3 would refer to the Serpent.

112 In this case "its" refers to Hades.

113 Observation of Bohak ("Gematrias").

114 Cf. van der Horst, "Tomb Inscriptions"; Mazzinghi, "Non c'è regno."

> not [even] contain sufficient to moisten its mouth." Then where does it drink from? R. Shimon b. Yohai learned, "A river goes forth from Eden whose name is Yubal[115] and from there it drinks. What is his reason? Because it says, 'That spreads out its roots by Yubal' [Jer 17: 8]." (*Lev. Rab.* 2.10)

See also *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.1; *Pesiq. R.* 16.4; 48.3; *Tan.* Pinehas 12; *Num. Rab.* 21.18.[116] Similarly to our Hades, Greek Tartarus is also a part of the cosmic hydrosystem: rivers originate there and return to it (Plato, *Phaed.* 111c–112e).

Some texts view this function as having an ecological purpose – it aims to prevent a new Flood.[117] Thus, in some Slavonic mss: "if the Serpent did not drink one cubit from the sea, there would be no dry land on earth" (4:5S, family β; see Notes). This conception contradicts a theory of a cyclical hydrosystem represented in Eccl 1:7: "All the rivers run into the sea, but the sea never overflows. To the sources from which the rivers come, there they flow to run again."[118] The non-cyclical nature of the water system in *3 Baruch* is clarified in ch. 10: the clouds (apud S – all of them; apud G – only those with "fruitful" waters) originate not from the sea, but from a supernatural celestial source (10:8–9S); thus there is no alternative way to balance a system, but by the canalization of the superfluous water into another supernatural destination.

Regulating the world water system by swallowing superfluous waters is known also as a function of primeval sea monsters. During the creation God ordered "the Prince of the Sea" (identified with Rehab of Job 26:12): "Open your mouth and swallow all the waters which are in the world!" Having refused, he has been slain by God (*b. B. Bat.* 74b). Cf. "When God created the Sea, it was expanding and expanding, until God has rebuked it and dried it" (*b. Hag.* 12a). However, the contemporary water monsters of *3 Baruch* are more obedient than their primordial counterparts; they readily drink from the sea and do so with regular amounts (see below). Exactly the same function is ascribed to Leviathan who dwells "in the abysses of the Ocean over the fountains of the waters" (*1 En.* 60:7), although here Leviathan does not so much drink as he plugs the water source:

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[115] On Yuval as possibly a primary source of all waters on earth, see Whitney, *Beasts*, 104–108.

[116] Cf. Whitney, *Beasts*, 112–113.

[117] This makes an additional connection with the "vine excursus," also dealing with the Flood in 4:6/8–17 below.

[118] For this conception in Ecclesiastes, see Young-Ji Min, "Rivers."

> Were it not that he [Leviathan] lies over the abyss [תהום] and presses down upon it, it would come up and destroy the world and flood it. But when he wishes to drink, he is not able to drink from the waters of the Ocean, since they are salty. What does he do? He raises one of his fins and the abyss comes up, and he drinks, and after he drinks, he returns his fin to its place, and it stops up the abyss. (*Pesiq. R.* 48.3)[119]

Concern for the lack of water. An opposite concern appears in *3 Bar.* 4:4S (cf. 4:6G): "he [Serpent] drinks one cubit from the sea. How is it that the sea does not sink?" The same with Leviathan: "when he is thirsty, he makes many furrows in the sea" (*b. B. Bat.* 75a), as a result, "the deep does not recover [חוזר לאיתנו] for seventy years" (*b. B. Bat.* 75a).[120]

One or two drinking beasts? Similar accounts referring to Leviathan and Behemoth have led to a discussion about which of the two actually drank from the Jordan. Cf. a statement of *3 Baruch* that Hades is similar to the Serpent "in that he *also* drinks …" (4:6):

> R. Yehudah said, "The Jordan comes from the cave of Pamias [Paneas]." It is also taught thus, "The Jordan comes from the cave of Pamias and it flows into the Sea of Sibkhai [Samachonitis] and into the Sea of Tiberias, and it rolls on and descends into the Great Sea and rolls on and descends into the mouth of Leviathan, for it is said, 'He is confident that the Jordan will burst into his mouth' [Job 40:23]." Rabba b. Ulla objected, "Behold, this is written about Behemoth on a thousand hills." However, Rabba b. Ulla said [in order to harmonize both views], "When cattle [בהמות, but with an adj. in pl.] on a thousand hills are confident? At the time when the Jordan bursts forth into the mouth of Leviathan." (*b. B. Bat.* 74b)

List of rivers. As in *3 Bar.* 4:7, giving a list of rivers, the Rabbinic discussion above is immediately followed by the list of Palestinian "seven seas and four rivers:"

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[119] In Slavic folklore (which is known to be in mutual influence with the literary pseudepigraphic tradition), serpents are often connected to celestial and terrestial waters. The rainbow is considered a serpent drinking water from the sea or rivers in order to transform it to the rain (thus enabling a cyclic system); see Belova, *Slavjanskij*, 285; cf. Gura, *Simvolika*, 289–93. Cf. also another model for the monster regulating the cosmic hydrology: "Rabah bar Bar Hanah said, 'I saw that Ridya;' he resembles a heifer of three years old, his lip is split and he is stationed between the upper and the lower deep, to the upper deep he says, 'Pour down your water,' and to the lower deep: 'Let your water spring up'" (*b. Taan.* 25b)." On this creature see Kiperwasser, Shapira, "Irano-Talmudica."

[120] Heb חוזר לאיתנו, lit. "returns to its strength," here is sometimes interpreted as "recovers its calm." However, in the light of parallels the capacity of water is rather meant.

> When R. Dimi came he stated in the name of R. Yohanan, "The verse 'for he has founded it upon the seas and established it upon the floods' [Ps 24:2] speaks of the seven seas and four rivers which surround the land of Israel. And these are the seven seas: the Sea of Tiberias, the Sea of Sodom, the Sea of Helath [Elat?], the Sea of Hiltha [Ulatha], the Sea of Sibkay, the Sea of Aspamia and the Great Sea. The following are the four rivers: the Jordan, the Jarmuk, the Keramyon and Pigah. (*b. B. Bat.* 74b)

Water abyss and Hades. The bipartite Serpent-Hades as a living being eats and drinks (4:5–6; like Phoenix eats and drinks in 6:11). By the former activity it helps to get rid of sinners,[121] and by the latter it disposes of superfluous water. It is one of several examples of the consistent integration of moral and cosmological issues elegantly united by mythopoeic images.

This most probably was not the innovation of *3 Baruch*. There are some traces of ancient connections between the "water abyss" and Hell. These topics are united in Job 38:16–17: "Have you entered into the springs of the sea? Or have you walked in the recesses of the depth? Have the gates of death been opened to you? Or have you seen the doors of deepest darkness?"[122] The same term – Heb תהום / ἄβυσσος – may designate either a "water abyss," or "Hell." See the "mouths of the abyss" in the water system of *1 En.* 17:8 and "abyss" as Hell there (*1 En.* 54:5; 90:26). For Gk ἄβυσσος as Hell, see Rev 9:1; *Acts Phil.* 3; 24; *Acts Thom.* 32; *Acts Andr. Matt.* 12; 24; and *passim*. "Lower waters" are located "opposite the gates of the Death Shadow [Heb צלמות] and the gates of Gehenna" (*Seder Rab. deBereshit* 17 in *Bate Midr.* 27–28). In accordance with this may be an idea that the "Prince of the Sea" (cf. *b. B. Bat.* 74b) is in charge of Gehenna:

> The [Prince of] Gehenna said to the Holy One, "Sovereign of the Universe! To the sea let all be consigned … the Gehenna cried out before him, "Sovereign of the Universe! My Lord! Satiate me with the seed of Seth … I am faint [with hunger]." (*b. Shab.* 104a)

The insatiability of the sea and of Hades are connected (or at least comparable): "'All the rivers run into the sea, [but the sea never overflows'; Eccl 1:7]. All the dead go only to Sheol, but Sheol is never full, as it is said, 'Sheol and Abbadon are insatiable' [Prov 27:20]" (*Eccl. Rab.* 1.7).

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121 Only in G. In S, the Serpent eats earth instead (4:3 S); see 3.3 below.4. Thus in S, its extra-ecological functions are only hinted in 5:2, where it or its belly is identified as Hades.

122 Cf. *4 Ezra* 4:7: "How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea, or how many springs ["streams," *venae* in Latin] are at the source of the deep [*principio abyssi*], or how many ways ["streams" in Latin] are above the firmament, or which are the exits of Hell, or which are the entrances of Paradise?"

3.2. *Eating the Wicked*

"The dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly, and he is nourished by them" (4:5G). Thus, the Serpent either serves as an abode (purgatory or eternal) for the souls of sinners or it destroys them, depriving them of eternal life. The notion of the "bodies" (τὰ σώματα) eaten by the Serpent is similar to the bodily post-mortem punishment in *t. Sanh*. 13.4 and par., where the sinners "descend to Gehenna in their bodies," and "their body is consumed" (cf. *b. Ber.* 18b–19b; *b. Shab*. 33b; *b. Rosh HaSh*. 16b–17a; *b. Sanh*. 64b). The conception of bodily descent to Hell is known to Matt 5:29–30; 18:8 and Mark 9:43–48, and even the destruction "of both soul and body in Hell" is mentioned (Matt 10:28). This must imply that not an immediate but a post-resurrection judgment is meant,[123] unless we deal with a mythopoeic paradox of a spiritual body (cf. an early Christian conception developed on the basis of 1 Cor 15:42).

On the afterlife and eschatological conceptions only vaguely implied in *3 Baruch*, see comm. to ch. 15.

Devouring serpent. Cosmic serpents swallow their rivals in *Enuma Elish* 4.97 (Tiamat and Marduk), *CTA* 5.2.2–4; 23.61–62 (Mot and Baal). Mot ("Death") feeds on humans (*CTA* 4.7.47–52; see below).[124] Sea-monsters "swallow men like fishes" (*T. Jud* 21:7). Aseneth prays that a sea-monster would not swallow her (*Jos. Asen.* 12:11).

Jeremiah compares Nebuchadnezzar with some devouring and rinsing dragon probably known to his audience: "He swallowed us like a dragon [Heb תנין, Gk δράκων], he filled his belly with our dainties, then he rinsed us out" (Jer 51:34). See the purgatory torments in the *Testament of Isaac*: "They [zoomorphic celestial creatures] tore him apart, dismember, and chewed, and swallowed him. After that they ejected him from their mouths and he returned to his original state" (5:16). A serpent-like angel wished to swallow the seer near Hades in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (6:1–8). This role may be connected also to a function of a celestial or infernal gate keeper (see comm. to ch. "Tree of Knowledge" [4:8–17G; 4:6–17S]).

Great eaters. Both Mot ("Death", the Ugaritic ruler of the netherworld depicted sometimes in a serpentine form) and Behemoth are known as great eaters. Mot's diet also includes humans: he "becomes fat [feasting] on gods

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123 Cf. Milikowsky, "Gehenom," 317–318.
124 Wright, *Heaven*, 49.

and humans" and "becomes sated on the masses of earth" (*CTA* 4.7.47–52). For Behemoth: "a thousand mountains yield cattle for it and it eats" (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6); "thousand mountains yield for him all kinds of food for the meal of righteous in the world to come" (*Pesiq. R.* 16.4 and 48.4; *Num. Rab.* 21.18).

Devouring Satan. In *Apoc. Abr.* 23:7–11 Azazel (Satan) and the Serpent are identified (Azazel is described as a serpent with hands, feet, and twelve wings). His fiery belly serves as Hades too. Here a number of critical details conform to *3 Baruch* (italics are mine):

> And I shall burn with fire those who mocked them ruling over them in this age and I will commit those who have covered me with mockery to the reproach of the coming age. Since I have destined them to *be food for the fire of Hades*, and ceaseless soaring in the air of the underground depths, *the contents of a worm's belly.* For those who do justice, who have chosen my will and clearly kept my commandments, will see them. And they will rejoice with joy at the destruction of the abandoned. And those who followed after the idols and after their murders will rot in the *womb of the Evil One – the belly of Azazel*,[125] and they will be burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue. (*Apoc. Abr.* 31:2–5)

See also "your adversary, the Devil", who "as a roaring lion, walks about seeking someone to devour" (1 Pet 5:8); he is identified with "great Dragon" and "ancient Serpent" in Rev 12:9. One of the names applied to Satan, Belial/Beliar (from Heb בליעל), might have been connected to its swallowing function: "swallower" derived from the root בלע followed by affromative *lamed*.[126] Bartholomew fears that Beliar will swallow him in *Gos. Bart.* 1:20.

Devouring Hades. In the Bible, personified Sheol/Hades is hungry for humans. It has a mouth, which "swallows them alive"; see Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Ps 141:7; and Prov 1:12. The earth can also "open its mouth" and swallow people (Exod 15:12; Num 16:30–32; 26:10; Deut 11:5; Ps 106:17); cf. also the "mouths of the abyss" in *1 En.* 17:8. This swallowing ability of the "gates of Hades" must be meant in Matt 16:18, when Jesus says that it will not prevail over his assembly.

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[125] The extant text has **въ оутробѣ лоукавого черви азазила**. The South Slavic proto-text apparently had **чрєви/чрѣви** "belly" in place of **черви/чрьви** "worm" (the form may be interpreted both as gen. and loc.) and contained possibly a gloss doublet: "in the womb of the Evil One – the belly of Azazel." In this case, in 31:3 above a usual grave worm is most probably meant.

[126] Mandelkern, *Hekhal*, 202; Thomas, "*Beliyya'al*," 18.

Belly of Hades. See "the depths of the belly of Hades" (Sir 51:5); "flaming womb of Hell" (*1 En.* 63:14); and "Hell [*infernum*] and the storerooms of souls [*promtuaria animarum*] are like the womb" (*4 Ezra* 4:42). Jonah calls "the belly of the fish" (Heb מעי הדגה; 2:2) "belly of Sheol/Hades" (Heb בטן שאול, Gk κοιλία ᾅδου; 2:3). Cf. 1.7 and 4.3.

3.3. *Eating earth*. "It eats earth like grass" (4:3S) according to the punishment of the serpent in Gen 3:14. Cf. also "the serpent's food is earth" (Isa 65:25; the same in Mic 7:17 and Philo, *Opif.* 56.157). In both Genesis and Isaiah the Greek text of LXX contains a word γῆς "earth" (CS ꙁємлѧ) in place of Heb עפר "dust."

This characteristic may link our cosmic Serpent to the "serpent that deceived Adam and Eve" (4:8S; cf. 9:7), also appearing only in S. This feature contrasts with Phoenix that feeds on "the manna of heaven" (6:11). Similarly, Philo likens "the lover of pleasure" who "feeds not on heavenly nourishment" to the serpent that "takes clods of earth as food" (*Opif.* 56.157–158).

In S, the Serpent eats earth instead of sinners. Thus in S, its extra-ecological functions are only hinted at in 5:2, where the Serpent or its belly is called "Hades." Ugaritic Mot eats both, humans as well as earth (CTA 4.7.47–52; see 3.2 above), thus combining characteristics of the Serpent in G and S.

"Grass" here may also mean "stubble" (CS сѣно has the both meanings). The discrepancy between G and S might go back to a simile of eating sinners *like* stubble, alluding to Exod 15:7: "your Fury will eat them like stubble."

3.4. *Insatiability*

"Hades is insatiable" (адъ єсть нєсꙑтꙑи; 5:3S). Only in S. This is a biblical citation: "Sheol ["Hades" in LXX] and Abbadon are insatiable" (Prov 27:20). See Habakkuk's parable of the "arrogant man, who made wide his soul as Sheol [Hades], and who is insatiable as Death" (Hab 2:5).

4. *Descriptions*

4.1. *Rock*. G reads: "a serpent, which looked like a rock" or "appeared to be a rock" (see Notes). "The rock becomes a dragon," when the Antichrist fails to transfer "the flinty rock" to bread (*Apoc. Dan.* 13:8).[127]

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[127] Cf. "living stones" in *Jos. Asen.* 12:2.

S has "a serpent on a mountain of rock" (4:3). Diverse sources probably preserve remnants of a tradition connecting a serpent or other gigantic beast to a rock/mountain. In Rabbinic writings the development of this tradition relies on the well attested midrashic exegesis of Ps 50:10: "*Behemoth* on a thousand mountains" is interpreted as "a single beast lying upon a thousand mountains" (*Lev. Rab*. 22.10 and par.; cf. *b. B. Bat.* 74b). It might also be based on an exegesis of the "serpent on the rock" (Heb נחש עלי צור) of Prov 30:19, where the unrecognizable "way of a serpent [unseen] on a rock" (דרך נחש עלי צור) might have been interpreted as "the ways of the Serpent [sitting] on a rock." The Dragon is "bound to the heights of Lebanon" by Anat (*PRU* 2.3.8–10; = *UT* 1003.3–10). According to the reconstruction of Cross and Whitney, Behemoth "is held on a mountain [instead of "occupies with his breast"] in an immerse desert, named Dendayn" (*1 En.* 60:8).[128] Leviathan has a throne standing upon a huge rock according to a late midrash (*2 Alphabet of Ben Sira* 27–28); cf. "the mount of the she-dragon, the mother of snakes" (*Acts Phil.* 8 [97]). See also a toponym "Serpent Stone" (Heb אבן הזוחלת) at En-Rogel (1 Kgs 1:9).[129]

4.2. *Dark and impure.* In 4:3G Hades is described as "dark and impure," while the Serpent is not defined thus. Similarly, in tannaitic tradition: of the two beasts, only Leviathan is declared pure (*Sifra* 11.10; or Leviathan and Ziz as in *Lev. Rab*. 13.3). In later midrash Behemoth is also sometimes regarded as a clean animal (this is the fact that enables it to be eaten at the Messianic banquet) or, alternatively, both Leviathan and Behemoth are unclean (*Lev. Rab*. 13.3; *Midr. Ps* 146; 537).

The "great dragon" of the *Pistis Sophia* is identified with "the outer darkness" (3.126; see above). Personified Darkens has the likeness of a bull in *Pesiq. R.* 20 and is connected to Hades in *Paraph. Shem passim*. Most commonly it is a characteristic of the abode of the dead. The Mesopotamian abode of the dead is "the dark house," where the dead "see no light,

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128 Cross, *Canaanite*, 54; Whitney, *Beasts*, 53.

129 "Rock" may be also connected to Hades. The two are given in opposition in Matt 16:18: "You are a Rock [Gk πέτρος going back to Aram כיפא], and upon this rock [Gk πέτρα] I will build my community; and the gates of Hades will not prevail against it." This conversation takes place in Caesarea Philippi (Paneas), where the sourses of lower waters were believed to be located (on the association of the "water abyss" with Hades see comm. to 4:1–5: *Water abyss and Hades*). The location of the "foundation stone" is linked to the location of the sources of the deep in *b. Yoma* 77b–78a; *Midr. Jonah* (*Bet HaMidr.* 1.98).

residing in darkness" (*ANET* 107). The realm of the dead is described as "house of darkness" in the *Descent of Ishtar* 1 and *Gilgamesh Epic* 7.4.33. Greek Tartarus is also dark (Hesiod, *Theog.* 729). The same holds for the netherworld in Job 10:21–22 ("land of darkness and deadly shadow," etc.). See, similarly, *1 En.* 10:4; 82:2; 103:8; Matt 8:12; 22:3; 25:30; *Exod. Rab.* 14; and *passim*. The abode of the sinners in the third heaven of *2 Enoch* is also dark: "And those men took me and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners …" (*2 En.* 7:1–2).

Darkness is mentioned two more times below (6:13; 13:1). On the separation of the light from the darkness mentioned in 13:1 and the possible opposition of "dark and impure" inhabitants of lower heavens to light and pure forces of higher ones, see comm. to 6:13.

Darkness and fire are combined in Sheol (*1 En.* 103:8); Gehenna is dark despite of the immense masses of fire (*b. Yeb.* 109b).

4.3. *Fire.* "He ["God" in mss BT] kindled his heart" (**ражегъ срьдьце его**; 4:5S). Family β has "God has kindled the belly [instead of "heart"] of the serpent." The motif appears only in S. Eating and fire are connected (cf. "eating fire" of Deut 4:14). The images of fiery serpents as well as the fire of the netherworld are both well known and sometimes combined. The huge serpent Khet, named by Horus "Great fire," breathes fire in the faces of human souls tormented in a fiery lake (Egyptian *Book of the Gates*). See also the Leviathan of Job 41:13, 23 and *b. B. Bat.* 75a. Sinners will be "burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue" (*Apoc. Abr.* 31:5), while Azazel appears as a serpent in *Apoc. Abr.* 23. Impure and unbelievers are drawn to the belly of Ur, the Mandaean fiery serpent of the underworld.[130] Fiery Hell is very well attested in Jewish sources.[131]

However, nothing is said here about burning the sinners. The text explicitly states that the Serpent's heart/belly is inflamed only in order to make him drink. "Eternal fire" for the sinners is mentioned in 4:16G below, but this verse is most probably interpolated.

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[130] Drower, *Mandaeans*, 253; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 124–127.

[131] See Isa 66:24; Ezek 38:22; Mal 4:1; 4 Macc 9:9; 12:12; *1 En.* 10:6; 18:11–16, 19; 21:1–6; 54:1–2, 6; 63:14; 90:21–25; 90:26–27; 91:9; 98:3; 100:9; 102:1; 103:8; *Jub.* 9:15; *Pss. Sol.* 15:4–5; *2 Bar.* 44:15; 48:39; 59:2; *4 Ezra* 7:36; 13:10–11; *Apoc. Abr.* 31:5; *Sib. Or.* 2:303–305; 3:53–54, 672–74; 4:159–61; *T. Zeb.* 10:3; *T. Jud.* 25:3; *Jos. Asen.* 12:11; 1QS 2.8, 15; 1QpHab 10.5, 13; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.20; Matt 3:10, 12; 13:42, 50; 18:8; 25:41; Mark 9:43; Luke 1:7; 3:9, 17; 2 Pet 3:10; Rev 19:20; 20:10; *Gen. Rab.* 4; *b. Er.* 19a; *b. Pes.* 54a.; *b. Hag.* 15b; etc.

4.4. *Hades' (= Serpent's belly) dimensions* (5:3). Hades is measured in *Apoc. Paul* 32 and *b. Pesah.* 94a; cf. *b. Taan.* 10a; *Cant. Rab.* 6.9; *Pesiq. R.* 41.173b; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 71. See comm. to 5:3 below.

Conclusions. As we can see from the above, the "triadic" appearance of the Beasts is not the only motif that links them to the bestial trio of early Jewish tradition and its counterparts in the Near Eastern lore. The Serpent and Hades share with Leviathan and Behemoth their serpentine form, ambivalent celestial and aquatic assignments, emphasized pairness or even bipartite nature, rabelaisian appetite, and especially the important function of balancing the cosmic water system. Another important feature, devouring men or even serving the abode of the wicked, is shared with archaic serpentine monsters, like Mesopotamian Tiamat, Ugaritic Mot, biblical *tannin*, who in turn have much in common with Leviathan, on the one hand, and with Sheol-Hades and dragon-like Satan, on the other. The parallels are even more clear for the third member of the triad, the Sun Bird (Ziz, Field Rooster, Ben Nez, and Bar Yokni of Rabbinic aggada; see comm. to ch. 6).

However, two basic features of Leviathan-Behemoth traditions – Eschatological or Primordial Combat (*Chaoskampf*) and Messianic Banquet – present in all other pseudepigrapha where these two creatures are mentioned together (*1 Enoch*, *2 Baruch*, *4 Ezra* and later Rabbinic sources; see above) are absent in *3 Baruch*. Here the Beasts are neither fighters, nor food.[132] Their main function here is just the opposite: they are rather eaters and drinkers than food. They eat sinners and earth, and drink sea waters. If our document preserves an old tradition, it may shed light on the origin of the Banquet idea: cosmic eaters will be eaten by men, their potential food, i.e., the Death mechanism will be destroyed by men released from it (the model reinvented by Shakespeare in *Sonnet* CXLVI: "So shall thou feed on Death, that feeds on men, and Death once dead, there's no more dying then"). In this case, the later Jewish tradition would have proposed an ironic and optimistic reversal of an archaic myth.[133]

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[132] Cf. Whitney, *Beasts*, 59–83, 114–155.

[133] This reversal is well set with the very ambiguous role that serpents and serpentine creatures play in ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures (more than in the Hebrew Bible, where negative accounts still prevail; cf. the seducing serpent of Gen 3; helpful magic serpents of Exod 4 and 7; healing bronze serpent of Num 21 and 2 Kgs 18:4; a crooked serpent Leviathan of Isa 14:29 and Job 41; Dan's symbol in Gen 49:17; etc.).

An additional question is whether the Beasts of *3 Baruch* rule celestial spheres or corresponding environments as their angelic patrons. This is very probable at least for the Sun Bird. According to the principle of the progressive order of creation, animals created on the fifth day rule celestial spheres created on the fourth, and specifically the superiority of Ziz to the sun is mentioned:

> Whatever was created after another governs it … The luminaries were created on the fourth day, while the birds in the fifth. R. Yehudah b. Shimon said, "Ziz is a clean bird, when it flies, it covers the orb of the sun." And man created after all in order to rule all. (*Gen. Rab*. 19.4)

This interpretation may be corroborated by the fact that the sun needs a command or the permission of the Sun Bird in order to rise (*3 Bar.* 6:14, especially S; on angelic features of Ziz see comm. to ch. 6). The Serpent (Leviathan, Rehab, Rabbinic "Prince of the Sea"), and Hades (Behemoth), depicted in *3 Baruch* as regulating the sea level and eating earth correspondently, might have dominated these spheres. This may explain why according to some witnesses, knowledge about the Beasts was an integral part of mystic teaching. "The mysteries of Behemoth and Leviathan" are mentioned in a line with "the mysteries of the Chariot" in *Cant. Rab*. 1.28. Some of the traditions on Behemoth (similar to those of *3 Baruch*) are transmitted in the name of R. Shimon bar Yohai (*Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 6; *Bet HaMidr.* 3.76).

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4:2. G here says nothing about the transition to the next heaven (S ceases to mention any heaven after the second). The following arguments stand in favor of the suggestion that the transition did take place: (1) In *3 Baruch*, doors, a long journey and a plain designate an entry to the next heaven (doors/gates for first, second, and fifth heavens; journey for first and second; plain – first, second and fourth). (2) In 7:2G (though not in S) it is stated clearly that it is already the third heaven, although a transitional moment is not mentioned. (3) In *2 Enoch* Hades (as well as Paradise in 8:1) is located in the third heaven (ch. 10). James assumed that the lack of a clear designation of the entry to the third heaven (a result of corruption?) brought the scribe in 10:1G to change the number of the next heaven from fourth to third, "it is confirmed by the fact that in 11:1 we hear of the fifth heaven, although the fourth being nowhere mentioned."[134] For an alternative view see introductory comm. ch. 11: *Ouranology.*

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[134] James, "Baruch," lix.

4:2S. *You will see the Glory of God*. G omits due to parablepsis (see Notes). The same promise occurs in both versions below, see 6:12; 7:2; 11:2 and in 16:6S. From G (possibly late fragment) we learn also that Adam was "divested of the Glory of God, so also the men who now drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, make a transgression worse than Adam, and become far from the Glory of God, and offer themselves to the eternal fire" (4:16G). CS **слава божиꙗ** / Gk δόξα θεοῦ / Heb כבוד ה' normally designates the vision of the Glory of God, often enthroned (Exod 24:16–17; 33:18; Isa 6:1–3; Ezek 1:28; 43:1–4; *1 En*. 14:20; 102:3; 104:1; *T. Levi* 3:4; etc.), or even God himself (4Q405 22.7; *Apoc. Abr.* 19:4; *4 Ezra* 3:19; *Asc. Isa*. 9:37; *1 Clem*. 9:2).[135] If this is the meaning here, the promise is not fulfilled, and the fact counts in favor of the hypothesis that the extant text of *3 Baruch* is not complete (see comm. to chs. 11 and 16).

However, the biblical "glory of God" may have another meaning: it could be something produced by God that is distinct from him. Thus, an alternative interpretation is that here the "glory of God" refers not to a revelation of God himself but rather to a disclosure of his works,[136] namely, Serpent, Hades, Phoenix, luminaries, celestial waters, birds, Michael, and probably subsequent visions; according to S also the afterlife reward (16:4). This view may be supported by Baruch's words after seeing the sun chariot and Phoenix: "Seeing such great glory, I became overwhelmed with a great fear" (7:5G). In this case it would be difficult to distinct between "glory" and "mysteries" (1:6; 1:8G; 2:6; 5:3S; 17:1S; see comm. to 1:6). Less probable would be that only Michael is the referent of the "glory of God," although he is called "the Glorious One" in 12:4S; *Exod. Rab*. 2.5 says that "every place where Michael appears is the Glory of the Presence" (כל מקום שמיכאל נראה שם הוא כבוד השכינה; cf. *Exod. Rab*. 32.9);[137] cf. Metatron called "Great Glory" in *3 En*. 48D:1.

A similar problem of interpretation occurs in Exod 33:18, where Moses asks God: "Show me your Glory." In different versions of LXX this is translated either literally or as "Reveal yourself to me" (so also Philo, *Spec. Leg*. 1.8.41ff).

Bauckham and Harlow suppose that this is not a promise at all, but rather a warning not to confuse "the glories of the lowest heavens with the Glory of God in the highest heavens." Similar preparatory notes may be recognized in *Asc. Isa*. 7:7–8; 17, 21–22; 8:7–9 and *T. Levi* 2:9–10

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135 See also Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 72; Harlow, *Baruch*, 50–51. n. 66.

136 So Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 51; 109–110; GC:1.678.

137 Harlow, *Baruch*, 52, n. 69.

("Do not be amazed about this, for you will see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable"). Thus, the location of the text and the wording of the promises of "Glory," on the one hand, and of "mysteries," on the other, underline the difference between them: "glory," mentioned closer to the end and often with the word "wait" (6:12; 7:2; 11:2), refers to the promised climax of the tour, while "mysteries," used mostly in the beginning and combining with the word "come," refers to "usual" cosmic sights.[138] Similar opposition of lower glories (luminaries) and highest Glory (Shekhinah) is attested also in Rabbinic sources:

> As the sun, which is but one of the countless servants of God, gives light to the whole world, so in a much greater degree does the Shekhinah. (*b. Sanh.* 39a)
>
> The emperor [Hadrian] said to R. Yehoshua b. Hananiah, "I desire greatly to see your God." Yehoshua requested him to stand facing the brilliant summer sun, and said, "Gaze upon it." The emperor said, "I cannot." "Then," said Yehoshua, "if you are not able to look upon a servant of God, how much less may you gaze upon the Shekhinah." (*b. Hul.* 60a)

Excursus: Cosmic Hydrology (4:6–7G; 4:3b–5S)

Greek	Slavonic
6 And this is Hades, which also is similar to him,	
in that also he drinks about a cubit from the sea,	3b And it drinks one cubit of water from the sea
	every day, and it eats earth like grass.
and nothing lacks from it [the sea]."	
7 Baruch said, "And how [is that]?"	4 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, he drinks one cubit from the sea.
	How is it that this sea does not sink?"
And the angel said, "Listen, the Lord God made 360 rivers, of which the primary of all are Alphias, and Abyros, and Gērikos;	5 The angel told me, "Listen, Baruch, the Lord made 373 rivers, and the first river is Alpheia[s], the second Abyr[os], the third Agērenik[os],[139]

[138] Bauckham, "Hell," 373–74; Harlow, *Baruch*, 52.

[139] *ē* is used here to designate Gk η and CS **и**, in the Middle Ages pronounced as [i].

the fourth Dounab,
the fifth Ephrat,
the sixth Zēphon,
the seventh Ēzētius,
the eighth Indus,
the ninth Thourēselos.
And there are 364 others.

and because of these the sea does not sink."

They fall into the sea, and thus it is washed, and this way it does not sink. That is why he kindled his heart."

NOTES

4:6G. *Hades*. In S "Hades" is mentioned only in family β 4:5; see comm. ibid.

4:6G. *Similar.* Gk παρόμοιος, also "comparable in size."

4:6G. *In that*. ἐν ᾧ. Or "in which." In this case it may be an interpolated allusion to 5:3, where Hades is a part of the dragon.

4:4S. *Lord, he …* Ms T has: "Lord, if he …"

How is it that this sea does not sink from the drinking of this serpent? According to mss TSN and, with a light variation, to family β. These words lack in ms L. Ms B adds: "from the drinking of this serpent"

Sink. Or "be finished." CS **оєкѫдѣєтъ** must render Gk ἐκλείπω (cf. 4:6 and 7G). In Slavonic Bible versions and in LXX these equivalents correspond to Heb חם.[140]

4:7G. *360 rivers*. G seems to have a primary reading here, since 360 is a gematria for Heb דרקון (from Gk δράκων);[141] see comm. ad loc.

4:5S. *373 rivers*. There are discrepancies between the mss and between the two parts of the verse: In 4:5a there are [?]6 rivers and 353 L 373 rivers BT β^2 343 rivers S 364 Z 333 rivers N. Cf. at the end of the verse (4:5b): 354 L 353 BT 53 β^2 343 S 363 Z many great rivers N. The discrepancies of 4/3, 60/40 and 70/50 must be due to the differences in numeration between Glagolitic and Cyrillic, while designations for 300 remain identical in both alphabets. Thus, all variants with 3, 40 and 50 may be secondary. Therefore, in 4:5a Glagolitic fore-texts of ms L might have 374 or 373 like BT and DIPV of family β; of ms S – 363 or 364 (as well as the only extant Glagolitic ms Z). At the same time in 4:5b: 353 of mss BT (and 53 of family β^2) will go back also to 374/373 (as in BT β^2 at 4:5a and the Glagolitic fore-text of L at 4:5a); and 343 of S – to 364 (as in Z at 4:5a and the fore-text of S at 4:5a). Since in 4:5b "other rivers" have to be nine (or according to mss TB – ten) less than in 4:5a, the most probable original numbers are 373 or 374 for the beginning and 364 for the end of the verse.

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140 Srezn, 2.722.

141 Bohak, "Gematrias."

4:7G/5S. *Alphias/Alpheia* …, etc. There are three rivers in G and nine or ten (mss BT) in S. Whereas G has only one variant (Ἀλφίας καὶ Ἄβυρος καὶ ὁ Γηρικός), discrepancies abound in the Slavonic versions, mostly obvious corruptions (see comm.).

4:5S. *And it [the sea] does not sink. That is why he kindled his heart* (**занеже раждегъ срьдьце его**). "God kindled his heart [belly β]" according to BTβ. CS **занеже** here has to be translated not as "because," but according to its rare meaning "that is why" (Gk ἐφ' οἷς; cf. *Supr* 480.4). S especially emphasizes the Serpent's dependence on God, the motif missing in G. Family β also contains an expansion, explaining that "if the serpent did not drink one cubit from the sea, there was no dry land on earth". It also says that "as deep as the depth of Hades is the depth of the belly of that serpent." Hades is not mentioned in S above, thus this latter addition must be a rewriting of 5:2–3S.

COMMENTARY

The ecological function of Serpent-Hades is the only expanded element of its description. The issue is examined in detail in the commentary to the previous chapter.

4:6–7G; 4:4–5S. *Sea*. Several bodies of water are mentioned in *3 Baruch*: river (2:1G), sea (4:3S/4:6G), lake (10:2, 6–9). See "the vast Ocean, much bigger than the earthly Ocean" in the first heaven of *2 En.* (J) 3:1–2; "much water suspended" in the first heaven of *T. Levi* 2:7; and the "upper waters" (Heb **מים עליונים**) of Rabbinic tradition (*Gen. Rab.* 4.3; *b. Hag.* 15a; *b. Taan.* 10a) which derive from the biblical "waters above the firmament" (Gen 1:7; Ps 148:4; cf. *Jub.* 2:4; *1 En.* 54:8; *T. Levi* 2:7; Rev 4:6; 15:2; *2 En.* 3:3 (J), 4:2).[142] Cf. *b. Hag.* 12b: "What is meant by 'heavens' [Heb **שמים**]? R. Yose bar Hanina said, 'It means, the place where *there is water* [Heb **ששם מים**].'" The motif of celestial water was also central for Gnostic, Hekhalot, and Mandaean visionary practices.[143]

However, all these must probably be relevant for the celestial "lake" of 10:2 and 6–9, while here a terrestrial or cosmic sea must be meant, since it is filled by terrestrial rivers. The supposed contradiction in the image of the celestial Serpent-Hades drinking from the earthly sea can be resolved, if the unified cosmic water system is meant (see Introduction: *Cosmology*). See the following:

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[142] Cf. *Enuma Elish* 4.139–140. Heavenly ocean may be meant also by **מבול** in Ps 29:10; cf. 104:13; 148:4, the idea paralleled in Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources (Keel, *Symbolism*, 36).

[143] See Morray-Jones (*Transparent*, esp. 34–53), referring also to Stroumsa "Aher," 2.817; Deutsch, "Dangerous" and idem, *Guardians*, 111–123.

> The waters of the Jordan are to give him [Behemoth] drink, since the waters of the Jordan surround the whole earth [some mss have a secondary reading: "land of Israel"], the half above the earth and the half below. (*Pirqe R. El.* 11.5)

This sea may also be identical to the uncrossable River-Ocean of 2:1G, which is located between celestial and terrestial realms. Rivers flow to it from earth, while the celestial Serpent drinks from the other coast. Other models are also plausible; cf. earthly Paradise connected directly to the third heaven (*2 En.* 8:4 and 42:3) or a visionary observing terrestial realia from the seventh heaven (as in *Apoc. Abr.* 19ff; *Apoc. Paul* 13; 15; 21; Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 19–20; cf. Cicero, *Resp.* 6.19).

Cubit. Gk πῆχυς / CS **лакъть** is normally a measure of length and not of volume (cf. 3:6). Thus, here it may mean not any specific measure but just "a small amount" as is the case in Matt 6:27. Anyway, this reading is also problematic, since the question of the next verse supposes an amount large enough to "finish the sea." The only reasonable interpretation would be that the sea diminishes in one cubit along the whole length of the coastline (in this case, it is a length measure). In 6:7 *modius*, a length measure, is also used as a surface measure (see comm. ibid.).

4:7G-5S. *Rivers*. G has "360 rivers." 360 is a gematria for Heb דרקון (from Gk δράκων).[144] There is no need to assume "numerical value of Greek words transliterated into the Hebrew alphabet,"[145] since this Greek loan-word is well attested already in tannaitic Hebrew (*m. Abod. Zar.* 3.3; *t. Abod. Zar.* 5.6).[146] For other gematrias in *3 Baruch*, see comm. to 4:10 and 5:3. Evidence for the use of Hebrew letters may be found also in the list of rivers in 4:7G/4:5S (see below). See the Hebrew-Greek notariqon/gematria techniques in Rev 13:18 and possibly 21:17; *Sib. Or.* 1:326–330; 5:12–51; *Asc. Mos.* 9:1. This method was popular also in general Hellenistic culture (for a parody on isopsephy-gematria see Lucian, *Alex.* 11).[147]

The reconstructed reading of S most probably has a total number of 373 or 374 rivers (with many discrepancies; see Notes) consisting of 9 or 10 (mss TB) named and 364 "others." The numbers in both G and S are close to the number of celestial gates (365) in 6:13G. All must be connected to the number of days in a solar year, which might differ in different systems. The

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144 Bohak, "Gematrias," 119.
145 Ibid.
146 Cf. Schlüter, *Deraqon*.
147 Cf. Collins, "Numerical," 116.

ancient Near Eastern solar year of 360 days (consisting of twelve months of thirty days each) conforms to G. The year of *1 Enoch, Jubilees*, and Qumran has 364 days as a number of "other" rivers in S (*1 En.* 72–75; 82:11; *Jub.* 6:32; cf. the *Psalms Scroll* from Cave 11 [11Q5] 27.6–7 and *Levi Apocryphon* [4Q540] 1.2). The number 354 of ms L corresponds to the number of days of a lunar year.

Some rivers that are "primary of all" (Gk οἱ πρῶτοι πάντων)[148] are named. There are three such rivers in G and nine in S. See also the "seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers," which pour their waters to the Great and Erythrean Seas (*1 En.* 77:5–7).[149] There are characteristics that may have connected the "primary" rivers to the rivers of Paradise of Gen 2:10–14 (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.13; Philo, *Quaest. Gen* 1.12–13; Jerome to Gen 2:12; *Gen. Rab.* 16.1–4), since (1) they are followed by the description of the Tree of Paradise (see introductory comm. to "Tree of Knowledge" [4:8Gff; 4:6Sff]), and (2) the whole account of extant *3 Baruch* here refers to the third heaven, where Paradise is located according to *2 En.* 8:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 37:5; and 2 Cor 12:2, 4. However, they are hardly identical to the rivers of Paradise which are four and have other names.

Below I adduce extant names from the Greek version (G), significant variants of Slavonic (S)[150] and, when possible, a reconstruction of their Greek *Vorlage*, designating the manuscripts upon which they are based (*G). If we ignore the initial *alpha* in some Slavonic names, which is absent in their G counterparts, we can presume that the list may go back to a Greek acrostic.[151] However, it is difficult to find a Greek alphabetic order for the last two names, unless they were interchanged. Howard Jacobson assumed that in the Hebrew alphabetical order, *alpha* could be added to Greek transliterations of original Hebrew forms (cf. MT and LXX in Josh 20:28; 1 Kgs 11:8; Ezek 20:29), while initial *waw* and *het* expected in the sixth and eighth names could be omitted according a well attested pattern of transliteration (Esth 1:9 and *passim*).[152] In this case, the original acrostic must have been emended: a Hebrew equivalent to the fifth name (Ephrat) is not found, while it perfectly corresponds to the Greek order.

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148 Either in time of creation or in importance (Gaylord, *Baruch*, 666).

149 Cf. a medieval source on the "great dragon" lying between nine rivers (התנים הגדול חשע יאורין אינון דאיהו רבין ביניהו; *Zohar* 2.34b).

150 Based on the table prepared by Gaylord (*Slavonic*, 37).

151 So Turdeanu, "Baruch." The conclusion is not due only to multiple discrepancies which enable to choose a name with an appropriate initial letter in every case.

152 Jacobson, "Note," 201–2.

G	S	*G		
Ἀλφίας	**альфеꙗ** LS **алфоувара** T **та ѱа** B **афиꙗ** N **алпиѣ** Z **елфа** PVID	*Αλφειας LT	A	א
Ἄβυρος	**ависъ** L **авоуръ** T **авириꙗ** S **авариꙗ** N **авиръ** Z **авири** PVID	*(Α)βυρος T	B	ב
Γηρικός	**агирѣникъ** L **тигръ** TB **горника** S **агореникь** N **горникъ** Z **сиринакъ** PVID	*(Α)γηρενικος LSNZ	Γ	ג
	доунавь LTNPID **доуна** B **доунаи** SZ	Δανούβιος al.	Δ	ד
	ѥфрать/ефратъ al. **жрантъ** B **епратъ** Z	’Ευφράτης al.	E	ה
	аризъ L **зифонъ** T **жихонъ** B **азафа** S **азаватъ** N **заѳъ/затъ** PVID	*Ζηφον T or *Αζαφα S / Αζαβατ B	Z	ו
	матипоусъ L **зифис** T **зови** B **зетеоусъ** S **зетиоусъ** N **изитюсь** P **изитиоусъ** VD **изитноусъ** I	*Ηεζητιους PVID or *Ζητιους SN	H	ן
	аринеоусъ L **аринесе** T **ариса**^{н} B **неоусь** SN **индоус** Z **нириѥсь** P **нориюсь** V **носириюсь** Z **норию** I	Ινδός or *Αρινεους LT	Θ	ח
	пелкоури L **фоуреселъ** T **ѳоурисел** B **перикоула** S **тигръ** N **проколъ** Z **ференопь** PD **ференотъ** V **фереѡ**^{п} I	*Θουρισελος TB or Τιγρις N	I	ט
	перегоулъ T **пероучи**^{л} B			

The numerous discrepancies indicate that we have a corrupted text; this, in turn, makes it difficult to identify the rivers. Among known rivers there are Euphrates and Danube (it is not called Istros here); some versions (probably secondary) have Indus and Tigris.

The first river Alphias/Alpheia[s] corresponds to Alpheios of Peloponnesus which appears in similar Greek and Roman lists. Gēricos/Agērenik[os] may refer to Anatolian Grēnikos of the same lists. Hesiod mentions both Alpheios and Grenikos, as shown below. The former also appears at the beginning of the list, immediately after the Nile. Structurally the lists are similar too (italics are mine):

3 Bar. 4:5S	Hesiod, *Theogony* 334–70
the Lord made 373 rivers:	Tethys bare to Ocean swirling Rivers:[153]
and the first river is *Alpheia*[s] [*Alphias* G], the second Abyr[os] [Byros G], the third *Agɛrenik*[os] [*Gɛrikos* G],[154] the fourth Dounab, the fifth Ephrat, the sixth Zēphon, the seventh Ēzētius, the eighth Indus, the ninth Thourēselos.	Nile, and Alpheios, and deep-swirling Eridanus, Strymon, and Meander, and the fair stream of Ister, and Phasis, and Rhesus, and the silver eddies of Achelous, Nessus, and Rhodius, Haliacmon, and Heptaporus, *Grenikos*, and Aesepus, and holy Simois, and Peneus, and Hermus, and Caicus fair stream, and great Sangarius, Ladon, Parthenius, Euenus, Ardescus, and divine Scamander < …> [the list contains totally 75 rivers]
And there are 364 others.	These are the eldest daughters that sprang from Ocean and Tethys; but there are many besides. For there are 3,000 neat-ankled daughters of Ocean …

See also Hyginus:

> From Oceanus and Tethys [were born] the Oceanides … Of the same descent are Rivers: Strymon, Nile, Euphrates, Tanais, Indus, Cephisus, Ismenus, Axenus, Achelous, Simoeis, Inachus, Alpheus, Thermodon, Scamandrus, Tigris, Maeandrus, Orontes. (*Fabulae*, Intr.)

Both Alpheios and Grenikos would only have been considered "primary" in the Greek world. The Nile and Jordan and other major rivers known also to Greeks do not appear in the list at all. It is possible that these facts attest to the location of at least one of the editorial stages of the book. Alternatively, our author or an editor may refer to what he considers mythological rivers in the outmost parts of earth, like Plato's four main rivers, Ocean, Acheron, Pyriphlegethon, and Stygian (*Phaed.* 111c–113c). Note James' idea that the third river is "γυρικός, which might mean the Ocean surrounding the earth."[155] It is a form unattested elsewhere, probably derived by James from Gk γυρόω. Following this model, ms L's reading for the second river Abyros – **ависъ** "Abysos" may reflect the original Gk Ἄβυσσος "abyss."[156]

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153 Potamoi, river-gods.

154 *ē* is used here to transliterate Gk η and CS **и**, in the Middle Greek pronounced as [i].

155 "Baruch," lx.

156 So Turdeanu, "Baruch," 28.

Excursus: Tree of Knowledge (4:8–17G; 4:6–17S)

Greek	Slavonic
	6 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Show me the tree which deceived Adam."
	7 And the angel told me, "When God made the Garden and commanded Michael to gather 200,003 angels to plant the Garden, Michael planted the olive and Gabriel, the apple; Uriel, the nut; Raphael, the quince; and Satanael, the vine. And similarly all the angels planted the Garden in order."
8 And I said,	8 And I Baruch said to the angel,
"I pray you, show me which is the tree that led Adam astray."	"Show me the tree through which the serpent led Eve and Adam astray."
And the angel said, "It is the vine, which the angel Sammael planted, for which the Lord God became angry and cursed him and his plant.	And the angel told me, "[It is] the vine, which Satanael planted. Because of this God cursed him and his fruit."
That is why he did not permit Adam to touch it, and that is why the devil being envious deceived him through his vine."	
9 And I Baruch said, "Since also the vine has been the cause of such great evil, and is under the judgment of the curse of God, and [was] the destruction of the first created, how is it so in use now?"	9 And I Baruch said to the angel, "If God cursed the vine, then how can it be in use now?"
10 And the angel said, "Rightly you ask. When God caused the Flood on earth, and destroyed all flesh and 409,000 giants, and the water rose 15 cubits above the heights, the water entered Paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed the shoot of the vine completely and brought it outside.	10 And the angel told me, "Rightly you ask me. When God made the Flood on earth, and he destroyed 409,000 giants, and the water rose above the high mountains, 15 cubits above the mountains, and the water entered Paradise and took all flowers, and brought out one shoot from the vine.
11 And when earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out of the ark,	11 And when the water of the Flood withdrew, and the dry land appeared, and Noah went out from the ark
he began to plant [some] of the found plants.	
12 And he found also the shoot [of the vine]; and having taken it, he considered in his mind, 'What is it?'	12 and found the vine lying on the ground,

And I came and spoke to him about it.	
13 And he said, "Shall I plant it, or what [shall I do]? Since Adam was destroyed because of it, let me not also encounter God's anger because of it." And saying these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do about it.	13 he thought to himself, saying, "Shall I plant it in the ground? I know that Adam ate from this and was exiled from the Garden. If I plant it, what if God will become angry with me?"
14 And when he had completed the prayer of 40 days, and having begged much and wept, he said,	14 And he knelt down and fasted 40 days praying, and he wept and said,
'Lord, I entreat you to reveal to me what I should do about this plant.'	'Lord, if I plant from this, what will happen?'
15 And God sent his angel Sarasael, and told him, "Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot [of the vine],	15 And God sent his angel Sarasael, and he told him, "Arise, Noah, and plant the vine,
for thus the Lord says, 'Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness,	and alter its name, bitterness to sweetness;
and its curse shall become a blessing,	and for that one it was for death, but for you it will be for life.'
{and that which is begotten from it shall become the blood of God; and as the human race obtained condemnation through it, so again through Jesus Christ the Emmanuel [and] in him is the receipt of the future invocation, and the entry into Paradise.}	
16 Know therefore, Baruch, that as Adam through this tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the Glory of God, so also now the men drinking insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, make a transgression worse than Adam, and become far from the Glory of God, and commit themselves to the eternal fire. For [no] good comes through it.	16 "But beware, Baruch: The tree still possesses its evil.
17 For those who drink it in excess do these things: brother does not have mercy on his brother, nor father on his son, nor children on their parents, but through the calamity of wine come into being all [these]: murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like. And nothing good is established through it."	17 If they drink wine in excess, they do all evil: brother does not have mercy on his brother, nor father on his son, nor son on his father. And from the evil of wine come into being murder and adultery, fornication and [false] oaths, and theft. And how much evil comes into being because of wine!"

NOTES

4:6–7S. This important episode must have been omitted in G due to homoeoarchon.

Mss LT most probably begin with an interpolation derived primarily from Gen 2:7; 21–22:[157] "And having come down, the Lord stood in the midst of Paradise, where he ordered four angels to bring dust of earth. And when they brought [it] to him, he received the dust and created a man from ground. And God said, "What does the creation of my hands lack?" And he breathed in him the breath of life, and he became alive. And having caused him to sleep again, he took out of him one rib and made Eva to be for him for help." East Slavic mss TB add the story of Sataniel's refusal to venerate Adam at the end of 4:7: "And he said to Michael, "Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of my hands which I made." And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Sataniel did not bow down and said, "To mud and dirt I will never bow down." And he said, "I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest." Because of that, God cast him and his angels from his face just as the prophet said, "These withdrew from his face, all who hate God and the glory of God." And God commanded an angel to guard Paradise. And they ascended in order to bow down to God. Then having gone, Sataniel found the serpent and he made himself into a worm.[158] And he said to the serpent, "Open (your mouth), consume me into your belly." And he went through the fence into Paradise, wanting to deceive Eve.[159] But because of that one I was cast out from the glory of God. And the serpent ate him and went into Paradise and found Eve and said, "What did God command you to eat from the food of Paradise?" And Eve said, "From every tree of Paradise we eat; from this tree God commanded us not to eat." And having heard Sataniel told her, "God begrudged the way you live lest you be immortal; take and eat and you will see and give it to Adam." And both ate and the eyes of both were opened and they saw that they were naked."[160] Similar accounts appear in the Armenian and Georgian *Life of Adam and Eve*; *Vita* 13–15; *Gos. Bart.* 4; Coptic *Enthronement of Michael*; *Cave of Treasures* 2.10–24; *Quran* 2:31–39; 7:11–18; 15:31–48; 17:61–65; 18:50; 20:116–123; 38:71–85.[161]

4:7–14S. The text of ms L cuts off in the middle of the word "Michael" (changing the sense from "ordered Michael" to "ordered me" – **повелѣ ми**) and reflects these verses only fragmentarily.

4:7S. *200,003 angels*. Reading of the family β (SNZ); 200,000 PVI; 10,000 D. om. L; 353 B; 350 T.

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157 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 45.

158 Cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 31:5 where Azazel (Satan) is called "warm."

159 Cf. the serpent entering through the "fence of paradise" with the same purpose in *Acts Thom.* 32.

160 Translation by Gaylord ("How Satanael," 305).

161 See Gaylord, "Satanael;" Stone, "Fall of Satan;" Anderson, "Exaltation of Adam;" Orlov "Flooded," 194.

4:7S. *Michael planted the olive*. Ms T: "Michael brought the olive and planted it. That is why Michael was called merciful" (word-play of ἔλαιον and ἔλεος; cf. 15:1S and comm. ibid.).[162] Michael is called "merciful and long suffering" in *1 En.* 40:9.

4:7S. *Raphael, the quince*. CS **кидоние** – Gk κυδωνιον μῆλον or κυδωνεα "quince tree." The Greek word is attested to be rendered also by CS **гдоуня**, used also for "fig" (see next note).[163]

4:7S. Mss of the family β have Raphael and Phanuel as the last two angels. Mss S and Z insert one more angel before Satanael. S has: "Sarazael, pomegranate [CS **калина**]" (on Z see below). CS **калина** here must not be identical to its modern Russian meaning ("guelder rose," "snowball bush"). All trees mentioned are Mediterranean fruit-trees. CS **калина** is attested at least once as the equivalent of pomegranate in the list of three fruits brought by the spies in Num 13:24: **плодъ древнъıи калинъı гдоуня и гроздиа** "tree fruits of pomegranate, fig and grape."[164] The species were probably identified because both trees are characterized by red flowers and fruits. Ms Z adduces "Rasael, **наранча**." The fruit name here is a hapax. Other *hapax legomena* probably of the same root are attested: (1) **наранджа** "orange,"[165] and (2) **наранъı**, rendering Gk κόλλα "glue."[166]

Vine. Family β adds: "For at first his name in former times was Satanael."

Planted Paradise in order. Family β has instead: "planted Paradise and various trees."

4:8. *The tree that led Adam astray / the tree through which the serpent deceived Eve and Adam* (τὸ ξύλον τὸ πλανῆσαν τὸν Ἀδάμ / **дрѣво иже прѣльсти змиа евгоу и адама**). Gk πλενάω is translated by its constant equivalent CS **прѣлищати**. Cf. "The great Dragon, the old Serpent, he that is called Devil and Satan, who leads the whole world astray [ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἵλην]" (Rev 12:9).

4:8G. *That is why … and that is why …* (ἐν ᾧ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο … καὶ διὰ τοῦτο …). Both Gk ἐν ᾧ and διὰ τοῦτο are translated here in causal and not temporal meaning, which is also plausible: "when … when …" In the former case, the devil and plant were cursed initially, and that was the reason of the prohibition. In the latter, they were cursed as a result of Adam's transgression. Gk ἐν ᾧ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο may also mean "because of this [devil] and because of that [his plant]." With a different sentence division the phrase ἐκατηράσατο αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν φυτείαν αὐτοῦ εἐν ᾧ may be read also as "cursed him and his plant *with him*."

4:8G. *Sammael*. Emended from Σαμουηλ "Samuel" (in both mss) according to 9:7. These two forms interchange also in *Acts Andr. Matt.* 24 (see comm. ad loc.).

4:8S.*Tthe vine, which Satanael planted*. Family β has instead: "Listen, Baruch. Firstly, the tree is the vine, secondly, the tree is sinful desire which Satanael spread over Eve and

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162 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 47.
163 Mikl, 286.
164 Srezn, 1.1182.
165 Vasmer, *Etimologicheskij*, 3.43.
166 Srezn, 2. 317.

Adam, and because of this God has cursed the vine because Satanael had planted it, and by that he deceived the first created Adam and Eve."

4:8. *Cursed him and his plant / cursed him and his fruit*. In contrast to English both Greek and Slavonic do not distinguish between animate and inanimate pronouns. Thus, S may have: "it [vine] and its fruit."

4:10S. *Earth*. T adds: "he drowned every firstling."

All flowers. **вьсь цвѣтъ**. Or "all blooming."

4:13S. *Shall … garden*. Family β has instead: "This is truly the vine which Satanael planted in the middle of the garden, by which he deceived Eve and Adam; because of this God cursed it and its seed."

4:13–14S. *If … knelt down*. Om. L.

4:15S. Alter its name, bitterness to sweetness; and for that one it was for death, but for you it will be for life. So according to ms T (and ms B with slight variations). Ms L and the best readings of family β have "and [I will – β] alter its name, and change it for the good one." The former variant is the most similar to G. Since, in distinction to G, the verse in S has no Christian elements, it, very probably, reflects a better Greek version. Gaylord proposes a reconstruction of the first clause based on both main variants: "its bitterness is changed to sweetness" (if CS **прѣмѣни имѧ** "change name" was a corruption of a CS participle **прѣмѣнимѧ** "be changed" rendering Gk μεταβληθήσεται of G), thus, even more close to G.[167]

4:16G. *So also now the men drinking insatiably the wine which is begotten of it* (καὶ οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννώμενον οἶνον ἀπλήστως δρῶντες). Ryssel emends Gk δρῶντες to πίνοντες "drinking."[168] Gk δράω may mean "do" substituting a previous verb in order to avoid a repetition. In this case, it may attest to a lacuna in the verse. The verb may also mean "sacrifice," and thus the idolatrous wine would be meant (cf. *b. Abod. Zar.* 30b and *passim*).

4:17G. *Through the calamity of wine* (διὰ τῆς πτώσεως τοῦ οἴνου). Ryssel suggests "drinking of wine:" Gk πτώσεως instead of πόσεως.[169] However, there is no need for an emendation: the mirror combination "wine of calamity" is known from LXX Ps 60(59):5(3); cf. "cup of calamity" (Isa 51:17, 22). An intentional word-play on the meanings of πτώσεως and πόσεως is also possible.

4:17G. *For [no] good comes through it*. Gk πᾶν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δι' αὐτοῦ [οὐ] γίνεται. The conjecture was suggested by James.[170] Gk οὐ has probably dropped out. Otherwise the verse reads: "For *all* good comes through it." In fact, both readings raise contradictions with the context: the former with 4:9, and the latter – with its immediate continuation.

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167 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 63.
168 Ryssel, "Baruch," 451.
169 Ryssel, "Baruch," 452.
170 James, "Baruch," lxii.

4:17. *Brother does not have mercy on his brother.* Cf. Mark 13:12. The phrase may go back to the biblical use of "brother" as "another" in combinations like Heb איש את אל ב- אחיו / Gk ἄνθρωπος … τὸν ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ (cf., e.g., MT and LXX in Exod 32:27; Lev 25:5; and *passim*): "One man does not have mercy on another." See further *1 En.* 100:1–2; Hesiod, *Op.*, 181–189.

COMMENTARY

Interpolation Theory

The story of the Tree of Knowledge as the Vine is an intrusion in the description of the Beasts. This may indicate that it was interpolated (although at some early stage, since both G and S have it).[171] However, whether the decision to insert this account here has been made by the author or a later editor, there are some justifications for uniting the images of the Beasts with the Tree of Knowledge and the subsequent narrative including the deceiving serpent, wine, etc.[172] In addition to considerations of the narrative structure (1–2), the Cosmic Serpent and the deceiving serpent of Eden, both closely associated with Satan, may be identified (3); Beasts are known to be connected to Eden where the Tree is located (4), probably even as its guards (5); there are special connections between serpents and vine (6); both Beasts and wine are elements in depictions of the eschatological banquet (7).

1. *Rivers and Tree*. Harlow suggests that rivers (if these are recognized as rivers of Paradise; see comm. to "rivers" in 4:7G-5S above) may serve as a connection, following the narrative order of Gen 2, where the account of the Tree is adjacent to the description of the four rivers.

2. *The Serpent and the Flood*. There is a connection between the Flood mentioned below and the Serpent with its role in the cosmic hydrosystem. The celestial Serpent prevents a new flood from happening in 4:5Sβ above

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171 For interpolation theories for separate fragments of the account – 4:10–15; 4:15 or 4:15b – see comm. ibid.

172 Cf. Himmelfarb's proposal to connect the Adamic account to the prologue: "the destruction of the temple is intimately connected to larger questions of God's expectations of humanity and human failure from the beginning of history"; in both *Apoc. Abr.* and *3 Bar.* "the sin of Adam figures … another response to the destruction of the temple" (Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 66).

(as Leviathan does in *Pesiq. R.* 48.3; see introductory comm. to the previous chapter, 3.1).[173]

3. *Cosmic Serpent and Deceiving Serpent.* Probably the image of the serpent, either the Cosmic Serpent-Hades of 4:3–6; 5:1–2, or the "serpent that deceived Adam and Eve" (4:8S; cf. 9:7) is the unifying factor in two narratives. Both may be identified with Sammael/Satanael. On the one hand, Serpent-Hades shares many features with "devouring Satan" (cf. Azazel of *Apoc. Abr.* 31:2–5) and on the other, it "eats earth like grass" (4:3S) according to the punishment of the deceiving serpent in Gen 3:14. The serpent of Paradise was identified with Satan in Wis 2:24; *2 En.* 31; *Apoc. Abr.* 23; *Apoc. Sedr.* 4; *Vita* 12; Rev 12:9; 20:2; etc. When not identified completely, they are usually very closely associated (as in *3 Bar.* 9:7; see comm. to 4:8). The identity of all three figures appearing in *3 Baruch* – Cosmic Serpent, serpent of Paradise, and Satan – is made explicit in Revelation: "The great dragon, the old serpent, he that is called Devil and Satan, who leads the whole world astray" (Rev 12:9; cf. the same wording in *3 Bar.* 4:8G). The same with the Crooked Serpent Leviathan. "O Belial, dragon, apostate, Crooked Serpent, rebel against God" (Ignatius, *Phil.* 11). Leviathan is an evil angel in medieval Jewish tradition (*Eliyahu Rab.* 2.61–62; *Moreh Neb.* 3.23; Kimhi to Isa 27:1). It is identified with "Evil"/Satan in mystical works (*Maarekhet* 8.102–103b; *Nefesh Ha-Hayyim* 1.17; *Zohar passim*). Satan was identified with the Serpent even through etymological speculations: Gk σατανάς from Heb סטה (*sata*) and נחש (*naas*), "deviative serpent" (Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 103; cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 21.2).

4. *Beasts and Paradise.* Moreover, Leviathan and Behemoth are also connected to Paradise in various other sources: "Behemoth, who is held on a mountain a waste wilderness named Duidain, on the east of the Garden where the elect and righteous dwell" (*1 En.* 60:8). Leviathan inserts his head to Paradise: "If he did not put his head in to the garden of Eden, not a single creature could stand his smell" (*b. B. Bat.* 75a). Behemoth drinks from the river of Eden (*Lev. Rab.* 22.9–10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.1; *Pesiq. R.* 16.4; 48.3; *Tan.* Pinehas 12; *Num. Rab.* 21.18; cf. above). God sports every

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[173] The next image introduced in the vision, the sun screened by the Sun Bird, may also be connected to the Tree. Cf. so called Late Assyrian Tree iconography with its constant core element: the Tree and a winged sun disk above it; see Lambert, "Trees," 438f; Parpola, "Assyrian," 164f. All three elements are united in the "tree-eagle-serpent theme" of the Mesopotamian Etana myth (esp. Tablet II); see ibid., 197.

day with Leviathan (*b. Abod. Zar.* 3b) or with Behemoth and Wild Ox in Eden (*Midr. Konen* 26).

Notice also that Hell and Paradise are situated side by side in *2 En.* 8–10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 30; *Eccl. Rab.* 7.14; *Midr. Tannaim* 224.

5. Guardians of the Tree. The connection of the World Tree with serpents is a universal motif. Serpents guard trees in numerous mythological accounts. In a Sumerian myth Gilgamesh has to kill "the snake that knows no charm" in order to gain access to the Hullupu-Tree of the goddess Inana. A great serpent guards the tree of the golden apples of the Hesperides (Hesiod, *Theog.* 333ff; Euripidus, *Herc. Fur.* 394ff; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 4.1396ff; Ovid, *Met.* 4.631–48; and *passim*). Another serpent-guarded tree appears in the accounts of the Argonauts (Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.*, 4.121–66; Ovid, *Met.* 7.149–56). Herodotus mentions winged serpents as divinely appointed guardians of the spice-bearing trees of Arabia (*Hist.* 3.110). Dragon guards the Peridexion tree in the Greek *Physiologus*. The motif of snake-encircled trees is well attested in Hellenistic iconography.[174]

The Beasts of *3 Baruch* may be located near Paradise in order to prevent access to the Tree of Eden and higher abodes (as Cherubs "guard the way to the Tree of Life" in Gen 3:2). Similarly a beast ("serpent" in *Vita*) threatens Seth and Eve on their way to the Tree of Life in Paradise (*Vita* 37–39; *Apoc. Mos.* 10–12). The Serpent of Eden is in fact its guard in *Gos. Barn.* 40.

Some lost exegetical motifs based on Gen 49:17 and Eccl 10:8 might have been conflated with the mythological images of guarding serpents: "who breaches a fence, will be bitten by a serpent" (Eccl 10:8; for the "fence of Paradise," cf. Sataniel's account in *3 Bar.* 4:7S (Notes) and *Acts Thom.* 32; for another hypothetical prooftext from Eccl 10 see comm. to 6:16G). "A serpent by the way, a viper by the path," to whom Dan had been compared (Gen 49:17), was interpreted in medieval mystical tradition as an ambivalent figure of a guard and a source of demonic forces, somehow connected to the wine as well:

> … a minor serpent above, a rear-guard of all camps [מאסף לכל המחנות], which lurks in the ways and the paths. And from it issue armies and hosts which lurk for the sons of men on account of the sins which they ignore [דראמין להו לאחורא בתר כתפייהו]. R. Hiya said, "The primeval serpent above [נחש הקדמוני לעילא], before it was tempered with gladdening wine is a 'serpent by the way' [Gen 49:17]." (*Zohar*, Vayehi 704).

On infernal serpent-like gate keepers see in comm. to 3:5: 3.1.4 above.

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174 See, e.g., Armstrong, *Paradise*, 26–27, pls. 4a-d.

6. *Serpent and Vine.* "Wine … bites like a snake" (Prov 23:32). Angel Naas (from Heb נחש "serpent"), that seduced Eve and Adam, was identified with the Tree of Knowledge by Justin the Gnostic in his *Book of Baruch* (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.21; cf. below). Serpent and vine/wine are also linked together in some mythical discourses and cult practices. In the *caduceus* figures sometimes one or two serpents entwine around the tree.[175] The Sumerian libation vase of Gudea (circa 2025 BCE) has such an image as well as an inscription to the (probably chthonic) deity Ningizzida, entitled "Lord of the True Tree [or Tree of Life]" and known also as a master of the watery abyss, whose guardians were the serpent and the serpent dragon and whose consort was Geshtinanna, the "Celestial Vine."[176] Dionysus, the god of wine and the vine had chthonic origins having been born to Persephone in the form of a serpent. Both snakes and vine are among his main attributes (cf. also satyr-like creatures in *3 Bar* 2–3 above). As the Serpent above, he is known as a "man-destroyer" (ἀνθρωπορραίστης) or "raw meat eater" (ὠμηστής; raw flesh of victims was supposedly eaten duiring the Bacchic orgies). The Greek serpent-god known as Good Daemon (ἀγαθὸς δαίμων) was closely associated with a wine drinking ritual (see Theophrastus, *On Drunkennes* [*Peri Methēs*] and Philonides, *De Unguentis et Coronis* apud Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 15.48). The snakes' addiction to the undiluted wine is discussed in *b. Abod. Zar.* 30a. Both motifs, the snake-encircled tree and the drinking snake, are united in the a Samos relief where "the feasting hero holds up a drinking horn to a snake, as it stretches down from the tree."[177]

7. *Menu of Eschatological Banquet.* Although *3 Baruch* lacks the explicit motif of the eschatological banquet, it does feature common elements of this banquet – a pair of Beasts (if identified with Leviathan and Behemoth) and the "fruit of vine". The two are united explicitly in *2 Baruch*:

> And Behemoth shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and then they shall be for food for all that are left. The earth also will yield its fruit ten-thousandfold and on each vine there will be a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster produce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine. (*2 Bar.* 29:4–5)

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175 Similar image is widely known as snake-staffs of Hermes and Asclepius.

176 Amiet, *Art*, 141; Parot, *Sumer*, 236.

177 Armstrong, *Paradise*, 29 and pt. 4d.

"Fruit of vine" is destined for the eschatological feast promised by Jesus:

> I tell you I will not drink again of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom. (Matt. 26:29; cf. Mark 14:25; Luke 22:18)
>
> He [Jesus] promised to drink of the fruit of the vine with his disciples, thus indicating both these points: the inheritance of the earth in which the new fruit of the vine is drunk, and the resurrection of his disciples in the flesh. For the new flesh which rises again is the same which also received the new cup. And he cannot by any means be understood as drinking of the fruit of the vine when settled down with his [disciples] above in a super-celestial place; nor, again, are they who drink it devoid of flesh, for to drink of that which flows from the vine pertains to flesh, and not spirit. (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.33.3)

Rabbinic texts feature wine "preserved in its grapes from the six days of Creation" (*b. Ber.* 34b; cf. *Lev. Rab.* 12, end), most probably in order to feed the righteous in the future world.

Vine Revealed

1. *Vision or Conversation*? The conversation takes place – at least according to the final redaction of the book – in the third heaven, where Paradise is located according to *2 En.* 8:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 37:5; 2 Cor 12:2, 4;[178] and also the Syriac version and one Armenian ms (332 = Martenadaran 1500) of *Jos. Asen.* 22:13. Baruch is known to be "preserved until the consummation of time" (*2 Bar.* 76:2), and thus probably entered Paradise alive. See the same on Abimelech (*Derekh Erets Zut.* 1 (end); *Gen. Rabbati*, Haye Sarah [24.34]; cf. *2 Alphabet of Ben Sira* 28b; *Yalk.* 2.367), who is identified with Baruch (*Sifre Zut.* 12; *b. Moed Q.* 16b; *Pesiq. R.* 26; *Pirqe R. El.* 53; *Abot R. Nat.* B 43.122).

However, nothing is said here about Baruch entering or even watching Paradise or the Tree in it. Probably, as he was denied an access to the "highest heaven" (11:3) and did not behold the Throne of Glory (see comm. to "Baruch" in T:1 and to ch. 11), so also he only heard about the Tree. His journey to the east (where Paradise should be located according to Gen 2:8; *1 En.* 32:1–3; *2 En.* (J) 42:3; *T. Job* 40:3; 52:10; *b. B. Bat.* 84a) also takes place only later, in 6:1 below. The oil, which could very probably be a product of another Tree of Eden, is brought by Michael from the inaccessible higher heaven (see comm. to ch. 15). Moreover, according to 4:10G (but

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[178] Although there are alternative interpretations, like that Paradise was only seen from the third heaven in *2 Enoch*, or that in 2 Corinthians the unmentioned seventh heaven is meant; etc.

not S), the Tree probably does not exist any more having been "removed completely" by the Flood (see comm. ibid.).

The verb Baruch uses in his request concerning the Tree – Gk δείκνυμι / CS **показати** "show" – may mean also "teach, explain," as in both versions of 6:4, where the same verbs are used for the request followed by a verbal explanation (on the functions of Phoenix). At the same time, in 9:2, where the request about the functions of the moon is followed by a visual experience in G, Gk imperative δεῖξόν corresponds to CS **съкажи** "tell" (family β; probably corrupted **покажи** "show") and **наоучи** "teach" (family α), and the subsequent revelation in S is verbal and not visual. In the Prologue Gk ὑποδείκνυμι correspond to CS **съказати** "tell" in 1:4 and 6, but to **показати** "show" in 1:7. This word usage of S is in accordance with the general tendency of S, which sometimes has verbal descriptions instead of visions in G: the main function of Phoenix – the view of stretching the wings before the sun – is only described in 6:4 (both G and S) and actually observed only in 7:3–5G (probably interpolated; see comm. to 7:1); moon seen in 9:1–3G is only described in 9:3S.

2. *Why the Tree?* In any case, the *first* specific thing Baruch asks to see or to hear about is the Tree (previously he asks to be shown "all things" in 4:1G). It is also the *only* topic proposed by Baruch himself (and not as a request for explanations to the things shown to him). This resembles Enoch's curiosity: "I wish to know about everything, but especially about this tree" (*1 En.* 25:2; although there the Tree of Life is meant; cf. 25:4–6).

The knowledge of a specific plant/tree ascribed to a deity was among primary signs for a proper communication with that deity. A prayer to Hermes says: "I know your name shining in heaven, and I know all your images. I know your plant, and I know your tree …" (*Pap. London* 122.1–2).[179] The Demeterian mystae were shown a wheat-ear: "the Athenians, when they initiate in the Eleusinia exhibit in silence to the epoptai the mighty and marvelous and most complete epoptic mystery, an ear of a cut-wheat" (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.38–41). Similarly, the vine miraculously growing in a few hours was a part of the revels of Dionysus (cf. below).[180]

Another reason may be Baruch's curiosity with regard to the origin of evil. The Tree account is put in the section devoted to the description of

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[179] Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, 1.116. Cf. also the Akkadian *Erra Epic*: "Where is the *mēsu*-tree, the flesh of the gods, the emblem of the King of the Univ[erse], the pure tree … whose crown in heaven leans on the heaven of [Anu]" (Cagni 74.10–52).

[180] Otto, "Meaning," 25.

heaven inhabited by Hades, an abode of the wicked. The matter of the origins and nature of evil is of primary interest in apocalyptic experiences. As the Tree is the only image requested by Baruch, the reasons for evil is the only topic introduced by Abraham (*Apoc. Abr.* 20:6–7; 23:14; on the origin of evil inclination see *4 Ezra* 3:21; 4:30; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 2:7; *b. Ber.* 61a; *b. Kidd.* 30b). Whereas in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* an allegorical explanation is given in a theological framework of the concept of the free will (26:1–7), *3 Baruch* remains on mythological ground.[181]

3. *Why the Vine?* The identification of the Tree of Knowledge with the vine is not unique for *3 Baruch*. However, it is the only composition that connects it with the abuse of wine and speaks about its diabolic origin.

3.1. *Tree of Knowledge as Vine*. In *1 Enoch* the fruit of the "Tree of Wisdom" is only "like clusters of vine," and the Tree itself is high "like the fir, and its leaves are like the carob" (32:4 Gr). The Tree of Knowledge is the vine in *Apoc. Abr.* 23:5. The setting there also includes a dragon (the serpent of Gen 2 identified with Azazel, whose belly serves as Hades in 31:5). The Tree was defined as the vine by R. Meir (*b. Sanh.* 70a) and R. Yehudah b. Ilai (*Gen. Rab.* 15.7; 19.8; *Esth. Rab.* 5); see also Epiphanius, *Haer.* 3.45.1.2; *Palaea Historica*.[182] In other sources the forbidden fruit is identified with fig, apple, citron (ethrog), wheat, nut, and palm (*Apoc. Mos.* 20:5; *b. Ber.* 40a; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 20; *Pesiq. R.* 43; *Lev. Rab.* 12.1; *Num. Rab.* 10.2 and 8; *Tg.* Cant. 7:9; Tertullian, *Marc.* 2.2; Methodius, S*ymp.* 2; Origen, Gen 9:20; Ps.-Tertullian, Gen. 86; Commodianus, *Instruct.* 3). Ginzberg suggested that the vine identification belongs to the oldest view, as the most widely spread and going back to a mythological idea that wine is the beverage of the gods.[183]

There is also a connection between wine and knowledge or wisdom; the divine drink can even be a tool to intensify cognition processes:

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[181] A special interest in the Tree might have belonged to a Christian editor acquainted with a legend that the the tree of the cross originated from the Tree of Knowledge (cf. *Gos. Nicod* 23 [= *Descent* 7]). However, for obvious reasons, the tree of the cross is never the vine, and the Tree of Life is more commonly found in this role (*Cave of Treasures* 4.2–3 et al.). Thus, our story would rather contradict this tradition.

[182] Vasiliev, *Anecdota*, 190; see Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.190–91. Cf. also Michael bringing "wine from the Garden of Eden" to Jacob in *Tan.* Toledot 16.

[183] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.97.

> R. Hanina said, "He who allows himself wine possesses some of the characteristics of his Creator, for it is written 'And the Lord smelled the sweet savour; and … said … 'I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake'" [Gen 8:21]. R. Hiya said, "He who retains a clear mind under the influence of wine possesses the characteristics of the seventy elders; for the numerical value of יין is seventy and so is also the numerical value of סוד so that when wine goes in the secret comes out." (*b. Erub.* 65a; cf. *b. Sanh.* 38a; etc.)[184]

"Raba said, 'Wine and spices have made me wise'" (*b. Hor.* 13a-b). See also the practices of Greek philosophic symposia (ridiculed in Aristophanes' *Eq.* 85–99 "bring me a jug of wine, so that I can say something smart") and the connection, also sometimes ironic, between wine and revealing the truth in Greek and Roman sources from Alcaeus (*Fr.* 366) to the proverbial *in vino veritas* (cf. *vulgoque veritas jam attributa vino est* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 14.28[22] and *passim*).

3.2. *Significance of Vine.* Vine is the "chosen tree," as Israel is the chosen people: "from every forest of the earth and from all its trees you have chosen one vine" (*4 Ezra* 5:23). The Messiah is allegorized as the Vine in another vision of Baruch (*2 Bar.* 36–40); cf. Jesus as "the true vine" (John 15:1) and numerous vineyard and wine parables in the Gospels. The vine, as a symbol for Israel and Jerusalem (see comm. to 1:2) and Messiah, was a central motif for early Jewish and Christian iconography.[185] The golden vine, "the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators," was among the most notable adornments of the Temple (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.11.3; cf. *Bel.* 5.5.4; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5; *Ep. Arist.* 70; *m. Mid.* 3.8). According to Josephus, Strabo describes "a golden vine of the value of five hundred talents" presented by Aristobulus to Pompey, as a specifically Jewish artifact called: "vine or garden; they call this work of art 'Delight'" (εἴτε ἄμπελος εἴτε κῆπος τερπωλὴν ὠνόμαζον τὸ δημιούργημα; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.3.1[35]; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 37.14). Vine leafs and grape clusters (as well as chalices and amphorae) appear on some Jewish coins from the period[186] as well as in the decoration of synagogues.[187] A vine tree is depicted on the central panel (*reredos*) in the synagogue of Dura-Europos. See also "a synagogue of the vine" כנישתא דגופנא in Sepphoris (*y. Naz.* 56a; or probably "a synagogue of Gophnites").

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184 I thank Shani Tzoref for this parallel.

185 Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 5.102–103, n. 5; Patrich, "Golden."

186 Romanoff, "Jewish"; Goodenough, *Jewish*, 3.no 677–99.

187 Goodenough, *Jewish*, 3. no. 24, 232, 477, 487–89, 516, 537, 550, 564, 619, 620. 622, etc.

3.3. *Mysterial Vine*. The attention paid by *3 Baruch* to the vine and its fruit may be related to some Dionysian or, alternatively, anti-Dionysian context. The images of the vine (4:7–17), satyrs (2:3–3:8), serpents (4–5), and bowl (11:8–9), central for *3 Baruch*, are fundamental also in Dionysian iconography.[188] Sataniel and Noah are Jewish counterparts of other first vine planters and inventors of wine, like Egyptian Osiris, Greek Dionysus, Roman Bacchus and Liber, and Phrygian Sabazius. Noah is also known as a recipient of mystic traditions, sometimes even as the first one (*Jub*. 10:10–14; *Sefer HaRazim*, Intr.). The similarities in cultic imagery and some practices between Jewish rituals and the cults of Dionysus and Sabazius were so noticeable that ancient authors frequently identified the two (Tacitus, *Hist*. 5.5; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 4.6.1–2; Valerius Maximus 1.3.2; Claudius Iolaus, *FGH* 788 F 4; Cornelius Labeo apud Macrobius, *Saturanlia* 1.1.8.19ff; John Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.53). These identifications are best understood within the framework of the known tendency of *interpretatio graeca* of foreign cults, but they may also attest to actual syncretistic practices of Hellenized Jews, especially before the Maccabean revolt. Several Palestinian coins from the fifth-fourth century BCE combine Dionysiac attributes with overtly Jewish imagery or inscriptions.[189] It is known that Dionysian *mysteria*, in which the vine was a primary symbol, were forced upon Jews by Hellenistic rulers: "When the feast of Dionysus came, they [the Jews of Jerusalem] were compelled to march in the procession in honor of Dionysus, wearing wreaths of ivy" (2 Macc 6:7); "Any of them [the Alexandrian Jews] who prefer to join those who have been initiated into the mysteries [of Dionysus], they will have the same civic rights as the Alexandrians" (3 Macc 2:29–30).[190] Some find Dionysiac influence or anti-Dionysiac polemics in the Cana story of John 2:1–11 (closely paralleled by Achilles Tatius' account of the Dyonisiac traditions of Tyre in *Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.2.1–3.3).[191] Note also the overtly

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188 Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 6.126–127.

189 Cook, *Religion*, pl. 32, pp. 147ff; cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 1.270f and 3. no. 670.

190 Cf. Picard's ideas on the mysterial initiation as a setting of *3 Baruch*, basing on the imagery of cinnamon ("Observations," 90–91, 96; "Jet te," 39; "Trajets," 46). The features like crossing the river, passing the gates, groups of satyrs and choirs of birds, darkness (of Hades), frightening (of the Sun Bird), purificative ablution (of soul-birds), processions, terminology of "greater mysteries" could have also indicated some relations to Hellenistic mysterial rites.

191 Smith, *Studies*, 1.227–37.

Dionysiac iconography in the possibly Jewish "House of Dionysos" of the 3rd century CE in Sepphoris.[192]

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4:7S. *And the angel told me, "When God made the Garden and commanded Michael to gather 200,003 angels to plant the Garden, Michael planted the olive and Gabriel, the apple; Uriel, the nut; Raphael, the quince; and Satanael, the vine. For at first his name in former times was Satanael. And similarly all the angels planted the Garden in order.* The account of the angelic planting of Eden in S, although absent from G, shows evident connections to the rest of the narrative and is deeply rooted in Jewish lore as witnessed by other texts from the period.

1. *Angels*

1.1. *Number.* Mss of the family β have either 200,003 or of 200,000 angels; the numbers of family α seem to be have been corrupted (see Notes). Angelic hosts are innumerable: "thousands of thousands," "myriads of myriads" (Dan 7:10); "can his troops be numbered?" (Job 25:3); "more than twelve legions of angels"(Matt 26:53); "myriads of his holy ones" (Jude 14); "there are twelve Zodiacs, each of thirty armies; each army, of thirty camps; each camp, of thirty legions; each legion, of thirty cohorts; each cohort, of thirty corps; and each corps of 365,000 myriads of stars entrusted to it" (*b. Ber.* 32b). The number of angelic hosts even "an arithmetician [Aram סופיסטא; Gk σοφιστής] cannot calculate" (*Pesiq. R.* 12).

The number here is unprecedented. A similar figure, but one order of magnitude below, is 22,000. This number of ministering angels, angelic hosts, and heavenly chariots is known from, e.g., *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 12; *Pesiq. R.* 12; 21; *Tan. B.* 76; *Mek.* Bahodesh 3.[193] Orlov notes that "three" in the number 200,003 must refer to the three primary angels gathered by Michael and mentioned by name below, while a round number 200,000 resembles the number of the fallen Watchers in some Enochic accounts: 200 of *1 En.* 6:6; 200 myriads in *2 En.* 18:3 (here also Satanael is mentioned as their leader).[194] Orlov's hypothesis is corroborated by the reading of ms

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192 Netzer, Weiss, "New Evidence" and "Architectural Development." The issue of Jewish Dionisism was recently treated by Noah Hacham ("3 Maccabees").

193 The Shekhinah does not rest on less than 22,000 Israelites (*b. Yeb.* 64a); cf. Solomon offering 22,000 cattle in 1 Kgs 8:63.

194 Orlov, "Flooded," 191–92.

B (GIM Barsov) of *2 En.* 18:3, which gives a clue, containing a similarly compound number – 202 – but explaining its rationale: "Two princes [of fallen angels] and 200 following them."[195]

1.2. *Angelic Staff*. Four angels of presence appear in *1 En.* 9:1 (Michael, Gabriel, Suriel, and Uriel; while the corresponding Aramaic text of 4QEn[a] 1.4.6 has Michael, [Sariel/Uriel?], Raphael, and Gabriel); 40:8–9; 54:6 (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel); 71:8, 9 and 12 (Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel); 1QM 9.12–16 (Michael, [Gabriel], Sariel, and Raphael); 1QNoah 2.4 ([Michael, Uriel/Sariel?, Ra]phael, and Gabriel); cf. *Life of Adam and Eve* (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel in *Vita* 56:1; Michael, Gabriel and Uriel in *Apoc. Mos.* 40:2).

Mss of the family β have Raphael and Phanuel (appears also in T:1) as the last two angels. Thus, this list conforms to *1 En.* 40:8; 54:6. The list of the family α is typical for the Rabbinic tradition: the totally identical list appears in *Pesiq. R.* 44 and 46; *Pirqe R. El.* 4; *Num. Rab.* 2.10; *Midr. Pss* 17; 68. In *Abot R. Nat.* A 12 the first two names are interchanged.

Some mss have five angels instead of four (in addition to Satanael): mss S and Z insert one more angel before Satanael: Sarasael (ms S; Rasael in ms Z); he appears again in 4:15.[196] Five angels appeared to Hagar (*Gen. Rab.* 45.7; 75.4; *Exod. Rab.* 3.16; *Tan. B.* 2.10); five "ministering angels" helped R. Hanina (*Cant. Rab.* 1.4); five angels of destruction are mentioned (*Deut. Rab.* 3.11; *Eccl. Rab.* 4.3; *Exod. Rab.* 41.7; 44.8; *Pirqe R. El.* 45); and five angelic orders are known to *Derekh Erets* 2 and *Midr. Konen* 25 (cf. "Five Helpers" and "Five Archons" of *Pistis Sophia* 1.1; 5.136 et pass, possibly connected to the universally known five planets scheme[197] and possibly referring to the prooftext "five men of them that saw the king's face [מראי פני המלך] of 2 Kgs 25:19). See "seven men of them that saw the

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[195] Similarly a rationale was found in the number 318 of Gen 14:14. Abraham's army of 318 is interpreted as three "hundreds" plus one "commander of hundred" and five "commanders of twenties" within each division of a hundred (see comm. to 5:3 below).

[196] On possible Uriel/Sariel/Phanuel connection, see Orlov, "Face."

[197] The astronomical connection is supported by the fact that these five archons rule over 365 subordinate rulers: "He bound eighteen-hundred rulers in every aeon, and set three hundred and sixty over them, and he set five other great rulers as lords over the three hundred and sixty and over all the bound rulers, who in the whole world of mankind are called with these names: the first is called Kronos, the second Ares, the third Hermes, the fourth Aphrodite, the fifth Zeus" (*Pistis Sophia* 5.136). Cf. 365 gates of heaven in 6:14 below.

king's face" (Jer 52:25) and the more widespread motif of a team of seven angels.

The total number of named angels appearing in the main version of S throughout the whole book is seven: five planting angels (four angels and Satanael; 4:7S), Panuel (T:1S), and Sarasael (4:15S). The tradition of seven angels is attested in Ezekiel (9:2; cf. also seven eyes in Zech 3:9; 4:10); *1 En.* 20; 81:5; 90:21–22; *T. Levi* 8; *Apoc. Mos.* 40:7; Rev 5:6; *Herm. Vis.* 3; *Sim.* 9; Origen, *Cels.* 6.30; *Pirqe R. El.* 4. Seven angelic orders are known to *1 En.* 61:10; *T. Levi* 3.

Thus, *3 Baruch* – like *1 Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Moses*, and *Revelation* – may reconcile two traditions: of four (or five) angels of Presence and seven angels as heads of angelic orders. The latter number in the majority of mss includes Satanael; mss SZ add one more angel probably in order to exclude Satanael from the seven. Similar combination of the two numbers is known from other sources: a four plus three angelic team in *1 En.* 87:2; four Living Creatures of Rev 4:6–8 and seven spirits in 1:4; 4:5; primary four of seven archons in Origen, *Cels.* 6.30 (Michael, Suriel, Raphael, Gabriel).

For three or two groups of angels conveying men's prayers and virtues to Michael and their possible connections to the angels here, see introductory comm. to ch. 12.

1.3. *Angels and Trees.* The story of angels planting Paradise is unique. It may have an implied biblical prooftext in Isa 51:16: "I sheltered you with the shadow of my hand, *planting the skies* [Heb לנטע שמים]." The verse also contains the idea of a protective shadowing, which is central in the account of the Sun Bird (*3 Bar.* 6–8). A remote echo of traditions standing behind *3 Baruch* may possibly be traced in Justin the Gnostic's *Book of Baruch*, where angels are identified with the trees of Paradise, with angel Baruch being the Tree of Life, and Naas (from Hebrew "serpent"), the Tree of Knowledge:

> And the multitude of all these angels together is Paradise, he says, concerning which Moses says, "God planted a garden in Eden towards the east" [Gen 2:8], that is, towards the face of Eden, that Eden might behold the garden – that is, the angels – continually. Allegorically the angels are styled trees of this garden, and the Tree of Life is the third of the paternal angels – Baruch. And the Tree of the Knowledge of good and evil is the third of the maternal angels – Naas. (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.21)

Another interesting parallel is adduced by Orlov, who compares the account of *3 Baruch* to the description found in the *Book of Giants* from Qumran:

> … Then two of them dreamed dreams, and the sleep of their eyes fled from them and they ar[ose …] from them and they arose […] their eyes and come to […] their dreams. And he said in the assembly of [his frien]ds, the Nephilin, [… in] my dream; I have seen in this night […] gardeners and they were watering […] numerous roo[ts] issued from their trunk […] I watched until tongues of fire from […] all the water and the fire burned in all […] Here is the end of the dream. (4Q530 II 3–12)[198]

and to its possible parallels, the late *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*[199] and the Manichean *Book of Giants*.[200] Orlov convincingly notices that "both accounts seem to have three similar events that follow one another in the same sequence: the planting of the garden, the destruction of the garden, and the escape of one tree from the destruction."[201] The "Gardeners" of these sources might have been recognized as angelic (or fallen angelic) beings too.[202]

2. *Trees*

The account of the Five Trees may be connected to two other topics, central for the book: (1) the cosmology of five heavens (especially in light of Gnostic and Manichean elaborations of the image; see comm. to ch. 11); (2) "virtues" brought by angels to Michael (11:9G and 12:5G):

2.1. *Five Trees of Eden and "Incurable Folly."* There are five trees planted in the garden of Eden. According to Rabbinic law, five fruit trees ("and even of five different species" ואפילו מחמשת מינין) are minimal for a legal defini-

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198 Transaltion from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea*, 2.1063.

199 " … One night the sons of Shemhazai, Hiwwa and Hiyya, saw (visions) in dream, and both of them saw dreams. One saw the great stone spread over the earth … The other (son) saw a garden, planted whole with (many) kinds of trees and (many) kinds of precious stones. And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with an axe in his hand, and he was cutting down all the trees, so that there remained only one tree containing three branches. When they awoke from their sleep they arose in confusion, and, going to their father, they related to him the dreams. He said to them: "The Holy One is about to bring a flood upon the world, and to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons" (Milik, *Enoch*, 325).

200 "Nariman saw a gar[den full of] trees in rows. Two hundred … came out, the trees …" (Henning, "Book," 52–74).

201 Orlov, "Flooded,"191.

202 Stuckenbruck, *Book*, 114; and Orlov, "Flooded," 190. For further similarities see comm. to 4:7.

tion of "garden" (*m. Sot.* 8.2; cf. *b. Sot.* 43b).[203] There are significant parallels to the motif of the Five Trees ignored in previous research. Our unique account may disclose a lost "mythological" background of the theological conceptions developed by Philo, Gnostics, and Manicheans. The same number of the Trees of Eden is known to Philo:

> For we read, "God planted a garden in Eden facing the sun-rising, and placed there the man whom he had moulded" (Gen 2:8). To imagine that he planted vines and olive and apple and pomegranate trees or the like, would be serious folly, difficult to eradicate. … For they [i.e., sacred oracles] say that in the garden there are trees in no way resembling those with which we are familiar, but trees of Life, of Immortality, of Knowledge, of Apprehension, of Concept of Understanding of good and evil [ζωῆς, ἀθανασίας, εἰδήσεως, καταλήψεως, συνέσεως καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ φαντασίας]. (Philo, *Plant.* 8.32–9.36; cf. *Quaest. Gen.*1.6)[204]

Gk συνέσεως φαντασία means rather "the concept of understanding" (or vice versa), than two different "plants" (as it is usually translated). In the latter case, there would be six plants. Whatever the number, the passage appears to be a polemic to the tradition behind *3 Baruch*, which is defined as "incurable folly" (δυσθεράπευτος εὐήθεια). Even the list of species is similar: "vines, or olive trees, or apple trees, or pomegranates" ("pomegranate" appears in ms S; see Notes).

The motif occurs most explicitly again in a Gnostic fragment from Deir al-Bala'izah[205] and in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*: "For there are five trees in Paradise for you. They do not change in summer or winter, and their leaves do not fall. Whoever knows them will not taste death" (19:3–4).[206] A hierarchy of aeons is called "Five Trees" in *Pistis Sophia* 1.1 and 10; 2.86; 3.95; and *passim*, cf. also the *Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* 4. Series of five, pentads, were especially popular among Manicheans.[207] Orlov finds a parallel to "Five Trees" in the fragments of the Manichean *Book of Giants*:

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[203] Cf. also "five trees" on which Amorite kings were hanged (Josh 10:26). For alternative numbers, cf., e.g., twelve trees of Paradise in *4 Ezra* 2:18; thirty kinds of trees, which Adam took with himself leaving Paradise (*Midr. Pss.* 104, 445).

[204] Cf. the righteous compared to trees: "they [mourners of Zion] might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord" (Isa 61:3) and "those that be planted in the house of the Lord will flourish in the courts of our God" (Ps 92:13).

[205] See Kahle, *Bala'izah,* 1.437–477; Crum, "Coptic."

[206] "Five members: mind, thought, reflection, consideration, reason of the mind," reminding the Philo's list, appear in another text ascribed to Thomas (*Acts Thom.* 27). On the "five trees" in the *Gospel of Thomas* and the pentads of Gnostics, see, e.g., Puech, "Doctrines."

[207] Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic*, 339–340.

"… evil-intentioned … from where … he came. The Misguided fail to recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals" (frg. h).[208] The Manichaean *Psalm Book* 161.17–29, introducing various pentads, opens with the statement: "For [five] are the trees that are in Paradise […] in summer and winter" (cf. the wording of the *Gospel of Thomas* above). "Five Trees" along with "Five Glories from the Five Worlds" appear also in Theodore Bar Konai's *Book of Scholia*.

2.2. *Paradise of Virtues*. The Trees of Paradise were identified as virtues in the continuation of the same fragment of Philo, the motif well developed in his works:

> We must conceive therefore that the bountiful God plants in the soul as it were a *garden of virtues* [παράδεισον ἀρετῶν] and of the modes of conduct corresponding to each of them, a garden that brings the soul to perfect happiness. (*Plant.* 9.37)
>
> Moses now indicates what trees of virtue God plats in the soul. These are the several particular virtues, and the corresponding activities, and the complete moral victories, and what philosophers call καθήκοντα or common duties. These are the plants of the garden. (*Leg. All.* 1.17.56–57)
>
> But in the divine park of pleasaunce all plants are endowed with soul or reason, bearing the virtues for fruit … and by the tree of life he [Moses] signifies reverence toward God, the greatest of the virtues, by means of which the soul attains to immortality; while by the tree that is cognisant of good an evil things he signifies moral prudence, the virtue that occupies the middle position, and enables us to distinguish things by nature contrary the one to the other. (*Opif.* 54.153–154)
>
> "From every tree that is in the garden you may freely eat" [Gen 2:16]. He moves the soul of the man to get benefit, not from a single tree or from a single virtue but from all the virtues: for eating is a figure of soul-nourishment: and the soul is nourished by the acquisition of things noble, and the practice of things rightful. (*Leg. All.* 1.31.97)

See also *Leg. All.* 1.31.97; *Gig.* 1.3; *Agr.* 4.17.

Another case of botanic imagery that is unique in *3 Baruch* is the "virtues" of 12:5G. Whereas Philo allegorizes virtues as "trees," in *3 Baruch* they are presented as "flowers." As the trees were planted by four/five chief angels, so also the flowers (probably of these trees "bearing their fruit in the form of the virtues", as in *Opif.* 56.153) are brought by "angels over the principalities" (12:3), whose names and number are not designated. For the sets of four virtues and further details, see comm. to 11:9G.

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[208] Henning, "Book," 63; Orlov, "Flooded,"194.

2.3. *Species of Trees*. As known from *2 En.* 8:7, in Paradise "there is no tree without fruit." Creation of earthly trees is mentioned separately and in connection with Eden in the Genesis accounts of *Jub.* 2:7; cf. *1 En.* 30–32. Lists of tree species similar to *3 Baruch* occur in different encounters. The olive-tree, the fig-tree, and the vine refuse to be king over the trees (Judg 9: 8–16). The Torah is likened to the fig, the vine, flax, and wheat, while Israel is compared to all the nobler trees: the vine, fig, walnut, myrtle, olive, apple, palm, willow, and cedar (*Exod. Rab.* 36.1). Vine, apple, and nut nominate themselves to serve as a cross for Haman, contending that they are symbolic for Israel (*Esth. Rab.* 5.11; *Abba Gorion* 41–41; *Panim Aherim* 47–48; *Yal.* 2.1054; *Aggadat Esther* 60–61). The opposition of the vine to other, more "useful," trees is found also in *Gen. Rab.* 36.3: "Should he [Noah] have not planted something of use [דבר אחר של תקנה], such as a young fig-shoot [יחור] or a young [olive-]shoot [גרופית]?"

Olive. CS маслина (Gk ἐλαία, Heb זית). The olive of Paradise is known to *2 En.* (A) 8:5; *Apoc. Mos.* 9–12; *Vita* 36–39. It is identified with the Tree of Life in *Apoc. Mos.* 28:4; *Gos. Nicod.* 19 (= *Descent of Christ* 3); Ps.-Clementine *Rec.* 1.45; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.2; Origen, *Cels.* 6.27). Israel is compared to the olive (Jer 11:16; *b. Menah.* 53b). On the product of this celestial olive see comm. to ch. 15.

Apple. CS яблань. It is not clear what fruit the so called "apple" – Heb תפוח, Gk μῆλον, Latin *malum* – designates in early sources. The terms may refer to any of a variety of species such as the quince, plum, peach, apricot, pomegranate, and citrus (*medica malus*).[209] In *3 Baruch* it is at least differentiated from quince. Most symbolic interpretations of "apple" are based on Cant 2:3 and 5; 8:5 (*Cant. Rab.* ad loc.; *Yal.* Cant. 986; *Exod. Rab.* 17; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 12). In distinction to *3 Baruch* it was widely identified with the Tree of Knowledge (*Tg.* Cant. 2:5 and 7:9; Cant. 8:5).[210] Cf. Vulgate Cant 8:5 (Lat *malum* means both "evil" and "tree fruit," "apple").

Nut. CS орѣхъ (Gk κάρυον, Heb אגוז or בוטן). It also has a wide symbolic spectrum; see, e.g., *Pesiq. R.* 11; *b. Hag.* 15b; *Cant. Rab.* 6.11.

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209 Hünemörder, "Apfel."

210 Although in *Gen. Rab.* 15 an ethrog is also called "paradise-apple."

Quince. CS кидоніе (Gk κυδωνέα). Houghton argued that Biblical Heb תפוח refers to "quince."[211] However, *3 Baruch* and the Mishna, already distinguish "apple" (תפוח) from "quince" (which is called in the Mishna פרישׁ; see *m. Maas.* 1.3; *t. Suk.* 2.9).

Vine. See comm. above.

4:8. *Serpent*. Only in S. It appears again in both versions in 9:7. There he does not deceive Adam by himself, but Sammael "took the serpent as a garment" (G) or "disguised himself in the serpent" (S). The same allegorical interpretation of the biblical serpent appears in Philo: "the Devil proceeds with great art, speaking by the mouth of the serpent" (*Quaest. Gen.* 1.36) and in *Apoc. Mos.* 16:1–7, where the devil says to the serpent: "Become my vessel and I will speak through your mouth a word to deceive him [or "them"]" (16:4). Sammael is a "Serpent – rider" that makes Eve pregnant in *Pirqe R. El.*: "As for the serpent, every act that he performed and every word that he spoke, he spoke and did only at the will of Sammael" (13; cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 21). Serpent is used for transportation of Satan inside the garden:

> And when Satan saw that Adam and Eve were happy and joyful in Paradise, that Rebel was smitten sorely with jealousy, and he became filled with wrath. And he went and took up his abode in the serpent, and he raised him up, and made him to fly through the air to the skirts of Mount [Eden] whereon was Paradise. Now, why did Satan enter the body of the serpent and hide himself therein? Because he knew that his appearance was foul, and that if Eve saw his form, she would betake herself to flight straightway before him. (*Cave of Treasures* 4.4–7)[212]

> Satan said [to the serpent]: "You are great: therefore open your mouth, and I will enter into your belly, and so you entering into paradise will place me near those two lumps of clay that are newly walking upon the earth." Then the serpent did so, and placed Satan near to Eve. (*Gos. Barn.* 40)

At the same time, Satan and the serpent are often identified: the fallen angel Gaderel seduces Eve in *1 En.* 69:6; Satanael causes the fall in *2 En.* 21:4; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 3:15 identifies the punishment of the serpent and of Satan; in a late midrash Satan appears to Moses in the guise of a serpent (*Midr. Vayosha* 43–44 in *Bet HaMidr.* 1.35–57; cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.2.1). On the possible identity of the seducting serpent of Eden to the Cosmic Serpent, on the one hand, and to Satan, on the other, see comm. above.

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[211] See the reference to Houghton in Jastrow, Kohler, Knowlton. "Apple," 24.

[212] Translation by Budge (*Book*, 63). I am grateful to Sergey Minov for noticing this parallel.

The vine, which the angel Sammael [*Satanael* S] *planted*. Noah plants the first vine in partnership with Satan or a demon (*Gen. Rab.* 36.3–4; *Midr. Agg.* on Gen 9:21; and par.). A similar belief about the vine was known to Gnostics. Thus, one finds the following description of the origins of vine in the mythological system of Severian Encratites, as it was described by Epiphanius: "After descending in the form of a serpent he [the devil] went wild and lay with the earth as with a woman, and as he ejaculated the seed of its generation, the vine was begotten of him" (*Haer.* 3.45.1.2).[213] See also "a grapevine has been planted apart from the Father" (*Gos. Thom.* 40). These vines, however, have nothing to do with the Tree of Knowledge. The idea that the Tree of Knowledge was planted by Sammael/Satanael is unique.[214] Moreover, it contradicts the most common understanding of Gen 2:8–9, that both Trees were planted by God, and other famous sayings: "vine [= Israel], the stock planted by your [God's] right hand (Ps 80 (81):15–16) and "I [= Jesus] am the true vine, and my father is a planter" (John 15:1); see also the texts cited from Philo above.

Sammael. Only in G; S has *Satanael* instead (see comm. below). This is one of the names for the leader of evil forces. Diverse etymologies have been proposed: "The one who made himself a god" (שם + אל), "poison of God" (סם/סמא + אל; based on *b. Abod. Zar.* 20b), or a form connected to the root סומא "blind" (*Acts Andr. Matt.* 24; *Hyp. of Arch.* 135 and *passim*; cf. comm. to "blindness" in 3:8G above). Sammael appears in *2 Enoch*; *Ascension of Isaiah*; *Testament of Solomon*; *3 Enoch*; *Apocryphon of John*; *Tg. Ps.-Jon* Gen 3:6; 4:1; Job 28:7; *Gen. Rab.* 56.4; 77; *b. Abod. Zar.* 28b; *b. Sanh.* 89a; *b. Sot.* 10b; *Lev. Rab.* 21.4; *Deut. Rab.* 11.9; *Abot R. Nat.*; *Pirqe R. El.* 12–13; 26; 32; *Bet HaMidr.* 1.12, 125; 2.66; 3.87; 6.31, 129.[215]

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213 Williams, *Panarion,* 346.

214 It can shed light on a possible aggadic background of the parable in Matt 13:24–30. There tares, "false wheat" (Gk ζιζάνια – *lolium temulentum*), are planted by "the Adversary" (ὁ ἐχθρός; a common title for Satan, interpreted thus also in 13:39 below) of a man during the man's sleep (cf. Adam's sleep in Gen 2:21). The forbidden fruit is wheat in some Rabbinic traditions as well (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 15.7; *b. Ber.* 40a; *b. Sanh.* 70a). Its very name, Heb חטה, is almost homographic to חטא "sin" (*b. Ber.* 61a; on later exegesis cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.97). As in *3 Baruch* also there "the harvesters are angels" (Matt 13:39).

215 Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.121; Urbach, *Sages*, 2.761; Scholem, "Samael," 14.719.22; Forsyth, *Old*, 209, 223–224, 323–324; Bullard, *Hypostasis*, 51–54; Harlow, *Baruch*, 125, n. 51.

Here he is placed in opposition to the four angels headed by Michael, who appears again in ch. 11 as a heavenly commander-in-chief, key holder, and probably as a heavenly high priest. The opposition of the two figures is a well developed motif in Rabbinic literature. "R. Yose said: 'To what can Michael and Sammael be compared? To a defending counsel and prosecutor standing in court" (*Exod. Rab.* 18.5; cf. *Pesiq. R.* 44). Michael and Sammael struggle over the body of Moses according to *Deut. Rab.* 11.10 (cf. the same with Satan in Jude 9; *Asc. Mos.* 10; *2 Petirat Moshe* 381f). During his fall, Sammael tried to bring down Michael with him (*Pirqe R. El.* 26). Michael saved Jacob from being killed by Sammael (*Midr. Abkir* in *Yalk.* Gen. 110).

Satanael. Only in S. Cf. 4:7S and 9:7S (also instead Sammael). According to *2 Enoch*, Satanael (CS *Satanail*, сатанаилъ) was the seducer and the paramour of Eve; he is, as such, the chief of the angelic rebellion, and upon fleeing from heaven he has lost the theophoric suffix and "became Satan" (*2 En.* 18:3; 29:4–5; 31:4). The name is used also in other *Palaea* accounts of the angelic revolt; see Notes for one of such stories interpolated in *3 Baruch*.[216] In non-Slavic sourses the name Satanael appears in Greek *Gos. Bart.* 4:25, and in Coptic *Encomium on the Archangel Michael* attributed to Theodosius of Alexandria and *Encomium on the Archangel Raphael* attributed to John Chrysostom. The Christian Arabic translator of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* (3.6) modified the regular Syr "Satan" (ܣܛܢܐ) into "Sātānāīīl" (ساطانابيل) in order to transpose the etymological word-play present in Syriac text into Arabic.[217]

4:8G. *He did not permit Adam to touch it.* So only according to Eve's testimony (Gen 3:3), while the wording of God's order did not prohibit *touching* the tree, only eating from it (Gen 2:17). In the interpretation of Gen 3:3, *3 Baruch* parallels Josephus: "God foretold to them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction" (*Ant.* 1.1.4; cf. Philo, *Quaest. Gen* 1.35 [to Gen 3:1]). However, others have understood the discrepancy between Gen 2:17 and 3:3 as a deliberate expansion of the divine prohibition either by archons or by Eve, which actually helped to deceive the first humans. The motif was developed by Gnostics (*Hyp. Arch.* 88–90) and in Rabbinic tradition (*Gen. Rab.* 19.3–4; *b. Sanh.* 29a; *Pirqe R. El.* 13; *Abot R. Nat.* 1.4–5 and 151).

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[216] See Gaylord, "Satanael," 308. On Satanael, in addition to the work of Gaylord, see Turdeanu, *Apocryphe*, 17–31; Stichel, R. "Verführung;" Stone, *History*, 116.

[217] See Bezold, *Schatzhöhle*, v. 2, 16*-17*. I thank Sergey Minov for these parallels.

Baruch says above: "I will neither subtract nor add a word" (1:7S). The two topics are united in *b. Sanh*. 29a: "Hezekiah said: Whence do we know that he who adds [to the word of God] subtracts [from it]? – From the verse, "God has said, you shall not eat of it neither shall you touch it [Gen 3:3]."

The devil being envious. Only in G. For jealousy as a cause of the serpent's deed see Wis 2:24: "God created man for immortality, but through the envy of devil death entered the world"; see also Josephus, *Ant.* 1.1.4; *Vita* 12:1; *t. Sot.* 4.17; *Gen. Rab*. 18 and 19; *b. Sanh*. 59b; *b. Sotah* 9b; *Abot R. Nat.* 1.

4:9–15. James considers this whole passage on Noah the Vine Planter, containing the second question of Baruch with a reply to it, to be another later insertion into a major insertion (4:8–17), because (1) the passage glorifies wine in contrast to 4:8 and 4:16–17, which both condemn it; (2) it has Christian elements (4:15b); (3) it differs in wording: Gk κλῆμα (4:10, 15) comes here in place of Gk ἄμπελος (4:8).[218] This argument may be weakened by the following observations: (1) as far as the first argument is concerned, (a) the condemnation applies only to "the men who drink insatiably" (4:16), to "those who drink it in excess" (4:17); (b) if the original text is supposed only to condemn vine products, how then Israel can be called in both versions "your [+ glorious S] vineyard" (1:2), unless this too is a later addition? (2) S does not have the obviously Christian passage in 4:15b, while still containing the most of the fragment. (3) A combination κλῆμα τῆς ἀμπέλου, uniting both terms, occurs in 4:10G.

A story about Noah planting the vine – developing Gen 9:20 – appears in *Jub*. 7:1; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 9:20; *Gen. Rab.* 36.3–4; cf. *Tan. B*. 1.46; *Tan.* Noah 13; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; etc.[219] Noah's vine is an offshoot of the Tree of Knowledge and comes from Paradise according to *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 9:20:

> he found a vine which the river had brought away from the garden of Eden, and he planted it in a vineyard, and it flourished in a day, and its grapes became ripe, and he pressed them out, and he drank of the wine and was drunken.

See further *Pirqe R. El.* 23; Origen, Gen 9:20. Noah has found the vine that Adam took with him from Paradise (*Tan. B*. 1.46). Other alternative views are found in *Tan. B*. 1.46–48 and *Tan.* Noah 13–15. A similar story was ascribed to the olive: whereas in *3 Baruch* a shoot of the vine planted by

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[218] James, "Baruch," lxii.

[219] Noah himself is compared to "a plant," that "shall be planted and established for all generations for ever" (*1 En.* 10:3 apud Syncellus; Orlov, "Flooded," 198).

Sammael has been washed out by the Flood from Paradise and planted by Noah, a branch of the olive tree (planted according to the same story by Michael; see *3 Bar.* 4:7S) was brought to Noah by a dove from Paradise, who has preferred "the bitter from there to the sweet from your [Noah's] hand" (מוטב מר מזה ממתוק מתחת ידך; *Gen. Rab.* 33.6; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; cf. 4:15 below: "its bitterness will be changed into sweetness").

Orlov notices, that the structure, as well as the content, of the story of Noah and the vine may connect it to the Enochic tradition:

> the events taking place in heaven and on earth are depicted as if they were to mirror each other: the destruction of "all flesh," including the giants on earth, "mirrors" the destruction of "all flower" in the heavenly garden. Both accounts also mention survivors, the patriarch Noah from the flooded earth and one plant from the flooded heavenly garden. This parallelism resembles the one in the Book of Giants, where the dream(s) about the destroyed "vegetation" of the garden and the single preserved shoot symbolized the drowned giants and Noah's miraculous escape.[220]

4:10. *When God caused the Flood on earth, and destroyed all flesh and 409,000 giants.* As noticed by Bohak, this unprecedented number must be a gematria of Gk κατακλυσμός (used as in *3 Baruch*, so also as a constant equivalent for the Heb מבול 'Flood' in LXX) written in Hebrew letters – *קטקליסמס (unattested elsewhere; for the transliteration of the Greek ending – ος with Heb – ס without *waw* as *mater lectiones*, cf., e.g., Heb פנס for Gk φανός, etc.).[221]

See the number of angels above: 200,003 implying three leading angels not included in the round number (4:7S). The number here might have been a corruption of 400,009, also including nine leaders. Nine leaders of the fallen angels are listed in *1 En.* 8,[222] while the giants are their progeny. Cf. also nine archons of Athens.

Giants. Giants (Nephilim, Refaim, Anakim) were born as a result of the intercourse of the "sons of God" (Watchers, the fallen angels of pseudepigraphic and Rabbinic traditions) with the daughters of men (Gen 6:4; developed in *1 En.* 15; *Jub.* 5:1–2; Philo, *Gig.*; *Gen. Rab.* 26.7; *Deut. Rab.* 1.24; *Tan. B.* 5.6; *Pirqe R. El.* 22; and *passim*). They were compared to the Greek "giants" by Josephus (*Ant.* 1.3.1–2).

Giants ("bulls and elephants and camels and asses") perished in the Flood according to the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 89:6); the Qumranic

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220 Orlov, "Flooded," 196.

221 Bohak, "Gematrias," 120.

222 Although *1 En.* 6:7 has more.

Book of Giants;[223] 4QExhortation (4Q370 1.6), *Sib. Or.* 2:283; 3 Macc 2:4; Wis 14:6; CD 2.19–20.[224] Many other sources refer to the mass destruction of Giants, without referring to the Flood explicitly (e.g., *Jub.* 20:5; *1 Bar.* 3:26–28; *Sib. Or.* 1:145). Cf. also *T. Reub* 5:6; *Apoc. Pet.* 230; *Acts Andr. Matt.* 18; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Deut 3:11; *b. Nid.* 61a; *Tan. B.* 4.130; *Tan.* Hukkat 25; *Num. Rab.* 19.32.

According to some Rabbinic traditions, the whole antediluvian generation was gigantic, so that they had no fear of the Flood (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 7:10; *y. Sanh.* 10.29b; *b. Sanh* 108b; *b. Rosh HaSh.* 12a; *b. Zeb.* 113b; *Lev. Rab.* 7.6; *Eccl. Rab.* 9.4; *Tan. B.* 3.13; *Tan.* Zav 2; *Pirqe R. El.* 22; *Midr. Pss.* 11.100; *Aggadat Bereshit* 4.10). Antedeluvian giants who "did not want to glorify God" and laughed at Noah are mentioned in the fragment *On Enoch Tablets* of *Palaea Historica*.[225]

The Giants can be connected with the Builders of chs. 2–3 above. On the souls of the Giants (or surviving Giants) having transformed to demons and initiating the building of the Tower of Babel, see comm. to ch. 3.

The water rose 15 cubits above the heights. Thus in Gen 7:20. Rabbinic aggadah connects the number with giants account. The rationale of this height is explained by the fact that fifteen cubits high or less were the giants of the Flood generation; this way they could not save themselves even on the mountains (*Midr. HaG. to Genesis* 1.159). Cf. *Jub.* 29:9: "the Rephaim were born, giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to seven cubits."

The water entered Paradise and destroyed every flower. This tradition is unique to *3 Baruch* and the Slavonic *Word on the Cross Tree*.[226] Does it mean that Paradise is terrestrial? According to *3 En.* 5:5–6 there were two of them (celestial and terrestrial).[227] Does it mean that Paradise was destroyed by the Flood?[228] The Flood enters Hell,[229] but not Paradise. Rabbis

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[223] So Stuckenbruck: "the Book of Giants retains the dual motif of internecine fighting (1Q23 9+14+15?; 4Q531 4) with their destruction through the flood (2Q26; 4Q530 2:4–7; 6Q8 frag. 2)" ("Angels," 367); "If 2Q26, 6Q8 frag. 2 and 4Q530 2:4–7 represent dreams of the giants about their punishment, the allusions to the flood of these texts may imply that their destruction would occur during the deluge" (ibid., 369).

[224] Stuckenbruck, "Angels," 369–376; cf. idem, "Giant."

[225] Vasiliev, *Anecdota*, 196–98.

[226] Kagan-Tarkovskaja, "Slovo."

[227] The notion of terrestial Paradise located on a high mountain was popular in Syraic Christian tradition; see Anderson, "Cosmic."

[228] This was Luther's idea (*Genesisvorlesung*).

[229] See Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.178.

insisted that the Flood did not reach Eden (*Gen. Rab.* 33.6; *Lev. Rab.* 31.10; *Cant. Rab.* 1.15.4; 4.1.2).[230]

It removed the shoot of the vine completely and brought it outside / brought out one shoot from the vine. According to G the Tree was "removed completely" (ἐξώρισεν εἰς τὸ παντελές), while in S only one shoot of it was taken. Branches of the trees planted by Satanael were brought out from Paradise, one by the Flood and another by the Tigris, and eventually became trees of the cross in the Slavonic *Word on the Tree of Cross*.

The uprooting of the vine may be connected to the fact that it was planted not by God, but by Sammael: "Every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted will be rooted out" (Matt 15:13); a vine that "has been planted apart from the Father," according to *Gos. Thom.* 40, "is not strong, it will be pulled up by its root and will perish" (cf. Ignatius, *Trall.* 11.1; *Phld.* 3.1; *Gos. Philip* 133:29–231; *Gos. Truth* 36:35–37).[231] In these Christian texts the use of this motif is most probably confined to the reference to antogonistic religious groups, but this metaphoric usage might well reflect the motif of the Jewish lore witnessed by *3 Baruch*.

Flowers. The Flood started "on the seventeenth day of the second month [Ziv/Iyyar]" (Gen 7:11), i.e., in the spring time of blooming. Flowers of Paradise are known also from the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*Apoc. Mos.* 22:3; Georgian *Book of Adam* 38:4).

The text refers to "flowers" again in 12:1G ("angels came carrying baskets full of flowers"). There flowers are among the central images of *3 Baruch* signifying "virtues" (12:4G; or "prayers" in secondary 14:2S and *passim*). This recurrence may not be coincidental. On the angels planting trees, on the one hand, and offering (their?) flowers, on the other, see comm. to 4:7S and 12:4G.

4:11G. *Noah came out of the ark, he began to plant [some] of the found plants.*

Only in G. In a Rabbinic parallel, Noah plants different species of trees that he kept with him in the ark (*Gen. Rab.* 36.3). There was even a tradition that some of the trees he planted were preserved in Palestine to the days of the Exodus (*Midr. Eccl.* 3.11).

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230 Cf. Lewis, *Study*, 23.

231 Cf. Bauckham, "Parable," 91.

4:13. *Since Adam was destroyed because of it, let me not also encounter God's anger because of it.* The idea that Noah was warned by Adam's failure with the vine is known to the Talmud: "The Holy One told Noah, 'Noah, why did you not learn from the first Adam that all the troubles he had were caused by wine?'" (*b. Sanh.* 70a).

Scholars have tried to find implied connections between the figures of Adam and Noah, on one the hand, and Noah and Baruch, on the other. All three endure a catastrophe (Fall, Flood, Destruction). Vine/vineyard (in Greek the words are very similar: ἡ ἄμπελος and ὁ ἀνπελών) imagery links the Temple and the condemned (or at least ambiguous) vine (1:2; 4:8, 9): while the "vineyard" is burnt (1:2), the "vine" brings its abusers to eternal fire (4:16).[232] If this parallelism is authentic, it would be, as Collins noticed, "a definitive rejection of Jerusalem, unparalleled in Jewish literature."[233] However, even if the images are connected, we have more to do with an opposition than with a likening of Jerusalem to "God's vineyard" and the vine planted by Sammael.

Orlov finds similarities between the Noachic account of *3 Baruch* and a parallel to the story of the planting of Paradise in 4:7S (4Q530 3–12, etc.; see comm. to 4:7S above), comparing them also to 6Q8 line 2.[234] Orlov states:

> The Noachic tradition found in *3 Baruch* 4 is closely connected with the fragments of the *Book of Noah* found in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the Dead Sea Scroll fragments, and Syncellus [see comm. to 4:15 below]. It appears, however, that the Noachic materials found in *3 Baruch* 4 have also undergone the "Adamic" revisions. H. E. Gaylord observes that "a strong typological relation is set up between Adam and Noah, who discovers a piece of the vine through which Adam and Eve sinned washed out of the garden by the receding flood waters."[235]

4:14. *He had completed the prayer of 40 days / And he knelt down and fasted 40 days praying.* Forty days is a standard period for both prayer and fast. Cf. fast and prayer of Moses in Exod 34:28; Deut 9:9 and 25ff (here also a prayer is mentioned), Elijah (1 Kgs 19:8), Jesus (Matt 4:2;

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232 See Picard, "Obseravtiones," 96–100; idem, "Je te montrai," 23–24; Collins, *Apocalyptic*, 200; Harlow, *Baruch*, 128–30. Picard also suggests that the typology between the Flood and Destruction may be based on Jer 45:5b alluding to Gen 6:7. Harlow adds that both Baruch and Noah are described as contemplating (1:1; 4:12), weeping (1:1, 3; 4:14), and eventually met with an angelic response (1:4; 4:15); see Harlow, *Baruch*, 128.

233 Collins, *Apocalyptic*, 200 (250 in the second edition).

234 "Its three roots [… and] while I was [watching] came […] all this orchard, and […]."

235 Orlov, "Flooded," 200–201; Gaylord, "Baruch," 659.

cf. Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2); see also Jonah 3:4. In post-biblical documents, Adam (*Vita* 6:1) and Abraham fasted for forty days (*Apoc. Abr.* 9:7; 12:1). For other periods of forty days, cf. Num 14:33; *4 Ezra* 14:23; *2 Bar.* 76; Acts 1:3 (in some of these sources the fasting may be implied); cf. Origen, *Hom. Num.* 8.1.5.

4:15. *Sarasael* (Σαρασαήλ / **Сарасаила** [acc.]). The Slavonic ms Z has "Rasael" (**расаела** in acc.) instead.[236] Mss S and Z have subsequently "Sarazael" and "Razael" as an additional planting angel in 4:7S (see note ibid.). This unique name, appearing in both versions, may be either a corruption of Sariel or Razael, or a contamination of the both, or rather the *scripto continua* of * σαρρασαήλ – *שר רזאל "Prince [a common Hebrew substitute to "angel"] Razael/Raziel." Angelic revelation to Noah is known to *Jub.* 10:11–14, and in later Jewish traditions Noah learns from the angle Raziel or from the book given by Raziel to Adam.[237]

Less probably, the name Sarasael, if derived from the Hebrew root סרס, might have to do with the well developed tradition of the castration of Noah (*Gen. Rab.* 36.7; *Tan. B.* 1.49; *Tan.* Noah 15; *Pirqe R. El.* 23). Cf. also a similar Saraqael (Sariel in Greek) in *1 En.* 20:6.

4:15. *Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing / and alter its name, bitterness to sweetness and for that one it was for death, but for you it will be for life.* The bitterness of the grapes of the Vine Tree of Knowledge are mentioned in *Esth. Rab.* 5 referring to Deut 32:32: "their grapes are filled with poison, and their clusters with bitterness." See the similar wording: "Woe to those who … put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter" (Isa 5:20) in the context including condemnation of wine abuse (5:11 and 22). In the context of parousia "the sweet water will become salty, and the salty sweet in the great light of the joy of God" (*4 Bar.* 9:18). See also comparable wording and even imagery although in different context (italics are mine):

> But there are some men of diligence and effort, who at first think the way leading to virtue rough and steep and difficult, but for whom later on the all-bountiful God renders it a highway, *transforming the bitterness of their toil into sweetness*. … the Saviour, anticipating us, taken pity on us and cast into our soul a *sweetening tree* like a medicine, producing love of labour instead of hatred of labour. (Philo, *Post.* 45.153–56)

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[236] Sic! – **расаела** and not **расаила.**

[237] *Sefer Raziel* 2a; 34a; *Sefer HaRazim*, Intr.; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.154; 5.177.

A very similar idea appears in Talmud. Here fermentation must be meant. But probably, in the light of *3 Baruch*, a more profound "change" may also be implied:

> Why is a difference made for wine [it has a special benediction, different from other fruit]? Shall I say that because *it has been changed for the better* [אשתני לעלויא], therefore the blessing is different? (*b. Ber.* 35b)

According to many commentators the whole fragment 4:9–15 has to be Christian, due to the obviously Christian 4:15b, and, more generally, since its redactor "felt it necessary to modify the condemnation of wine, on account of its use in the Eucharist."[238] However, wine also has sacral use in Jewish tradition, including sacrificial practices (see, e.g., on libation in Num 28:14; cf. *b. Ber.* 35a above). Jewish literature is abundant with positive references to wine. "Wine which cheers God and man" (Judg 9:13; cf. Ps. 104:15; Eccl 10:19). The vine tree is the chosen one (Ezek 15:2). The fig-tree is next in rank to the vine (Deut 8:8; cf. 4:7S above). On Israel and Jerusalem likened to the vine see comm. to 1:2 above. Cf. also Gen 49:11; 1 Kgs 5:4 [4:25]; Ps 128:3. Vine is among "desirable trees" in *1 En.* 10:19. It is kept for the eschatological feast (*Lev. Rab.* 12; *b. Ber.* 34b). Wine has healing powers (Philo, *Aet.* 12.63). "Foremost among all life[-giving things] am I, Wine" (*b. B. Bat.* 58b). "Wine is the greatest of medicines. Where wine is lacking, drugs are necessary" (*b. Ber.* 35b and 58b). "Old wine is good for the whole body" (*b. Pes.* 42b; cf. *b. Ab. Zar.* 40b). It also can assist in making someone wise (*b. Hor.* 13a-b; *Erub.* 65a). "?A person in whose house wine is not poured like water has not attained the state of blessedness" (*b. Erub.* 65a). Wine was declared as "the mightiest thing there is" by one of Darius' guards (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.3.3; cf. *1 Ezra* 3:17b–24) or as one of ten "mighty things existing in the world" (*b. B. Bat.* 10a).

Although these verses 4:16–17 contain one of the most severe condemnations of excessive drinking that we find in early Jewish literature, *3 Baruch* is not unique in this concern. Isaiah condemns excessive drinking (5:11, 22) and is worried about the drinking habits of priest and prophets (Isa 28:7); wine "bites like a snake" (Prov 23:32); "nor for kings to drink wine, nor any strong drink for princes" (Prov 31:4); etc. Among post-biblical texts preoccupied with wine abuse is the *Testament of Judah*. It allots three chapters to the problem and ties it closely to the sin of fornication (14–16). According to Judah, wine obtains "four evil spirits: lust, hot desire, profligacy, filthy lucre" (16:1; cf. list of vices below). Wine "turns

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238 Hughes, "Baruch," 536.

the mind away from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leads the eyes into error, for the spirit of fornication has wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind" (14:1). The one who drinks "serves the sin, and is not ashamed" and "reverences no man" (14:3). "Wine causes the mysteries of God and men to be revealed [to strangers]" (16:4).[239] "Wine is a cause both of war and confusion" (16:5). However, "a man may drink so long as he preserves modesty" (14:7) and observes "the right limit in wine" (16:1), "but if you would live soberly do not touch wine at all" (16:3). *Tob* 4:17 and *Ahiqar* 2 also warn against drinking with evil men. Drunkenness is included in the list of the vices in *Sib. Or.* 1:154. Rabbinic writings contain multiple positive references to wine (see above), but also feature occasional statements describing excessive drinking as a cause of many sins (see below). A Pauline author urges not to drink wine, because it "leads to debauchery" (Eph 5:18). In *Poimandres* drunkenness functions as a metaphor for the "ignorance of God" (1.27). The Therapeutae abstained from wine (Philo, *Contempl.* 73–74). Later, and on other gounds, complete abstention from wine was adopted by some groups as an extreme expression of mourning for the destruction of the Temple (a custom opposed by R. Yehoshua; *t. Sot.* 15.11–12). Among the most extreme opponents to wine were different kinds of Encratites (Abstainers). These included Manichaeans and some ascetic groups of Gnostics, as well as the sects of Hydroparastatae or Aquarians, who even used water instead of wine for the Eucharist (so Theodoret, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, and John Chrysostom; see Philastrius, *Haer.* 77; Augustine, *Haer.* 64; *Praedest.* 64; the practice was forbidden by Theodosius's edict of 382). Some rejected wine, because it was born of the dragon-like Satan and earth, who had had relations (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 3.45.1.2; cf. the vine planted by Satanael in 4:8S).

Our text, in providing a balanced treatment of the issue, might have served in polemics against such views. In the Slavonic *On the Flood* Noah similarly defines the contradicting features of his product: "For a clever man it is for joy, wedding, gossipship [кꙋмовьство], and brotherhood, and all good deeds, but for a fool – for fighting, rivalry, and all evil deed."[240] Ambivalent evaluation of wine appears in Sir 31:27–30:

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[239] Cf. *b. Erub.* 65a cited above referring to the revealing of mysteries by means of wine but in positive sense.

[240] Kagan-Tarkovskaja, "O potope," 111.

> Wine is like life to men, if you drink it in moderation. What is life to a man who is without wine? It has been created to make men glad. Wine drunk in season and temperately is rejoicing of heart and gladness of soul. Wine drunk to excess is bitterness of soul, with provocation and stumbling. Drunkenness increases the anger of a fool to his injury, reducing his strength and adding wounds.

See *Gen. Rab.* 36.3–4; *b. Ber.* 51a; *b. Yoma* 76b; *Tan.* Noah 18; *Tan. B.* 1.48; *Pirqe R. El.* 23. Wine is not only permitted but even recommended in moderate use (*Gen. Rab.* 36.4; *b. Erub.* 65a; *b. Ket.* 65a; *b. Sanh.* 70a; *Tan. B.* 1.58, 50–51 and 3.24–26; *Lev. Rab.* 12.1; *Tan.* Shemini 11; *Midr. Prov.* 23.95–96).[241] On two kinds of vines, good of Ps 104:15 and evil of Deut 32:33, see Methodius, *Discourse* 10.4.

4:15G. *And that which is begotten from it shall become the blood of God; and as the human race obtained condemnation through it, so again through Jesus Christ the Emmanuel [and] in him is the receipt of the future invocation, and the entry into Paradise.* Only this fragment of the chapter may be considered as an obviously Christian interpolation (see introductory comm. above), due to the unequivocally Christian terminology: "blood of God" (cf. Acts 20:28) and "Jesus Christ the Emmanuel."[242] It is not clear whether we ought to consider the line "and its curse shall become a blessing" (καὶ ἡ κατάρα αὐτοῦ γενήσεται εἰς εὐλογίαν) above as a part of the Christian interpolation: the line does not occur in S, but there is nothing specifically Christian about it. It may be an allusion to Isa 65:8, where blessed wine is compared to the righteous sons of Israel: "Thus the Lord says, 'As when fresh wine is found in a grape, and men say, 'Do not destroy it, since a blessing is in it.'"[243] See also, "As you were a curse among the heathen, O house of Judah, and house of Israel, so will I save you and you will be a blessing" (Zech 8:13) and "Let the plant of righteousness and truth appear, and its produce become a blessing" (*1 En.* 10:16[21]).

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241 Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.190.

242 Cf. also the phrase "invocation of God in Christ Jesus" (Phil 3:14).

243 Harlow, *Baruch*, 123, n. 38.

4:16G. *Adam … was divested of the Glory of God*. Eve also said that she "was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed" and "deprived of the glory with which I was clothed" (*Apoc. Mos.* 20:2) and caused Adam to see his nakedness and his being "deprived of the glory of God" (*Apoc. Mos.* 21:5–6; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 19.6; *Pirqe R. El.* 14). Enoch on the contrary was clothed "with the raiment of my [God's] Glory" (*2 En.* 22:8). The first couple's "garments of honor" (Aram לבושין דיקר) are mentioned also in *Tgs.* Gen 3:21; cf. *Pesiq. R.* 37.2; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.5. References to the glory of Adam are found in both versions of *Testament of Abraham*; *2 En.* (J) 30:11–12, and are especially abundant in Qumran (Heb כבוד אדם; CD 3.20; 1QS 4.23; 1QH 17.5; cf. 1QS 4.16, 24; 4Q171 3.1–2). For the "garment of glory" in general see *1 En.* 62:15; 108:12; *4 Ezra* 2:39, 45; *Asc. Isa.* 9:9; 2 Cor 5:3–4; Rev 3:4, 5, 18; 4:4; 6:2; 7:9, 13, 14; *Herm. Sim.* 8.2.[244]

This means that the first humans were not naked before the transgression, in contradiction to the plain meaning of Gen 2:25 ("the man and his wife were both naked") and probably as a response to Gen 3:21, mentioning "garments of skin" of the pre-Fall period. The latter verse was interpreted similarly, as referring to supernatural glorious or garments of light, as in Ezek 28:13, so also by Rabbis (*Gen. Rab.* 20.12; *Pirqe R. El.* 14.20; *Abot R. Nat.* B). Exegesis of *Gen. Rab.* 20.12 applies to the textual version featuring "garments of light" (Heb כתנות אור) in place of MT "garments of skin" (Heb כתנות עור). The former are considered priestly in *Tan.* Gen 3:21; *Num. Rab.* 4.8.

4:17G. *Brother does not have mercy on his brother, nor a father on his son, nor children on their parents*. The verse is considered to be Christian due to the textual similarity with NT: "Brother will betray brother to death, and a father his child, children will rebel against their parents" (Mark 13:12). A similar formula is found in Greek *Apoc. Ezra* 11: "neither brother has mercy towards his brother, nor man to wife, nor children to parents, nor friends, nor a slave to his master." See Notes ad loc.

4:17. *Murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like / murder* [or "robbery"] *and adultery, fornication and [false] oaths, and theft*. This is the first of three lists of vices: 4:17; 8:5; and 13:4.

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[244] More on this exegetical motif, see Lambden, "From Fig Leaves"; Anderson, "Garments"; Golitzin, "Recovering."

Five vices of wine (4:17)		Thirteen/five vices of mankind (8:5)		Thirteen/three vices of mankind (13:4)	
G	S	G	S	G	S
murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts,	murder and adultery, fornication, and [false] oaths, and theft	fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkennesses, murders, strifes, jealousy, slanders, murmurings, whisperings, divinations,	fornication, adultery, jealousy, rivalry, theft, murder,	fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, malices, drunkennesses, strifes, jealousy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination,	jealousy and fornication and to envy,[245]
and such like		and such like, which are not pleasing to God	all which does not pleasing to God.	and such like	and they strive to many other things

The most similar list occurs in Matt 15:19: "evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, blasphemies." However, three of the seven vices in this list do not appear in *3 Baruch* – evil thoughts, false testimonies (*3 Baruch* has ἐπιορκεῖαι, as compared to NT – ψευδομαρτυρίαι), and blasphemies. *Apoc. Paul* 6 has seven vices: "fornications, adulteries, murders, thefts, perjuries, divinations, and witchcrafts of men, and all the evils that they do." Col 3:2–8 has two lists of five (like *3 Bar.* 4:15) but different vices: "anger, wrath, malice, slander, abusive speech" and "immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and greed, which amounts to idolatry" (these lists adduce rather inclinations than deeds). Gal 5:21 concludes a list of seventeen vices with "and such like." Mark 7:21–22 and 1 Tim 1:9–10 have thirteen vices (like *3 Bar.* 8:5G and 13:4G, although the lists are different).[246] Twelve vices appear in *CH* 13.7. *Ep. Barn.* 20:2–8 contains fourteen vices, while *Didache* (5) and *Apostolic Constitution*s

[245] CS **на ревности** [like ζῆλος] **и на блжды и на зависти** [like φθόνος].

[246] In Mark these are "defiling" sins. The conception shared most probably also by other Jewish circles; cf. Klawans, *Purity*, 148 ff.

(7.18 and *passim*) have much longer lists (cf. the long lists of Rom 1:29–31 and 1QS 4.9–11 quoted below). The three last sources must have had a common tradition.

The popularity of such lists in Christian literature does not necessarily indicate a Christian origin of the list in *3 Baruch*. Hos 4:2 has also five and almost identical vices although in another order: "[False] oath [Heb אלה], and lying [or "perjury," Heb כחש], and murder, theft and adultery." Almost the same list has Jer 7:9 in addition to idolatry. See the list of Wis 14:25–26:

> confusion-blood and murder, theft and guile, corruption, faithlessness, turmoil, perjury, disturbance of good men, neglect of gratitude, besmirching of souls, unnatural lust, disorder in marriage, adultery and shamelessness

"Fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity" appear in *Jub.* 7:20 (cf. 20:3, 6). In *Apoc. Abr.* 24–25 there is a vision of murder, fornication, theft, and jealousy. Seven demonic heavenly bodies personify vices in *Test. Sol.* 8:2–4 (Deception, Strife, Fate, Distress, Error, Power, the Worst). See also the seven bound stars of *1 En.* 21:3, the seven archons of Gnostics (Origen, *Cels.* 6.30), and the seven planets as malevolent demonic powers in Mandean mythology (cf. introductory comm. to 3:1–5a: 2.1.3).[247] *T. Reub.* 2–3 also speaks of "seven spirits of deceit" (of a total of ten, including derivative spirits): fornication, greed, strife, obsequiousness (and chicanery), pride, lying, injustice ("with which are thefts and acts of rapacity"); see *T. Dan* 1:6; 2:4; *T. Sim.* 3:1. *T. Iss.* 7:2–4 speaks consequently of fornication, wine, coveting of a neighbor's belongings, guile, lying. *T. Benj.* 7:2 enumerates seven evils: bloodshed, ruin, tribulation, exile, dearth, panic, destruction. *Sib. Or.* 1:150–70; 174–98 speaks of faithlessness (150, 177), drunkenness (154), violence (154–57, 176), deceit (177), adultery and slander (178), lack of reverence for God (179); cf. *Sib. Or.* 2:67–77, 255–281; 4:27–39. One of the lists there is also associated with Noah (1:173–180). Philo gives ten kinds of transgressions (*Conf.* 12.46). Lists of vices are attested also in Qumran literature:

> greed, neglect of righteous deeds, wickedness, lying, pride and haughtiness, cruel deceit and fraud, much hypocrisy, impatience and much folly, black envy, vile deeds of debouched desire, defiled ways in impure service, abusing speech, blindness of eyes, deafness of ears, stiffness of neck, and hardness of heart (1QS 4.9–11)

Similar lists are found in Plato's works: "gluttony and violence and drunkenness" (*Phaed.* 81e), "injustice and tyranny and robbery" (ibid. 82a), "greatness of their wrongdoings, because they have committed many

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247 Toepel, "Planetary."

great deeds of sacrilege, or wicked and abominable murders, or any other such crimes" (ibid. 113e); cf. *Gorg.* 525a-c; *Rep.* 10.443a, 560e. "Three nets of Belial" of CD 4.15–19 include fornication, wealth and defilement of the Temple (cf. three sins of 13:4S adjacent to the enigmatic reference to the wives brought out of the Temple).

Names of vices and virtues were inscribed on the counters of a popular ancient "checkers" game.[248] Reitzenstein shows that the systematizing of the numbers of vices and virtues was accomplished under the influence of cosmology: for example, expanded list of five elements; seven planets, twelve signs of the zodiac.[249]

Similar to *3 Bar.* 4:17, the *Testament of Judah* connects wine with the list of vices: "Observe, therefore, my children, the right limit in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits: of lust, of hot desire, of profligacy, of filthy lucre" (16:1). R. Yohanan connects a long list of vices associated with wine to a biblical passage through a word-play: "Beware of a passion for wine, because in this passage on wine [Gen 9:20–25] *way-* [a beginning of *waw*-consecutive verbal forms presented here as "woe"] is written fourteen times" (*Gen. Rab.* 36.4).

Beasts Continued: Dimensions of Hades (5)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And I Baruch told the angel, "Let me ask you one thing, Lord. 2 Since you told me that the dragon drinks one cubit from the sea, tell me also, how great is his belly?"	1 And I Baruch told the angel, "Let me ask you, Lord, one more thing. 2 Since you told me, that the serpent drinks one cubit of water from the sea a day, how great then is its belly that it drinks so much?"
3 And the angel said, "His belly is Hades; and as far as lead is hurled by 300 men, so great is his belly.	3 And the angel told me, "Hades is insatiable. As far as 255 [?] of lead come, so great is its belly."
Come, then, so that I may show you also works greater than these."	And he told me, "If you wish, come and I will show you mysteries greater than these."

248 See Deissmann, *Light*, 320ff.; Hughes, "Baruch," 529.

249 *Hellenistic*, 338–351. On the lists of vices in Hellenistic Jewish writings, see also Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 100.

NOTES

Family β of S places this chapter in 4:4, before the "vine excursus." Since the text there is obviously revised, its transmission must be an editorial contribution to the coherency of the story.

5:1S. *Thing*. Lit. "word," CS **слово** (Gk λόγος).

5:3G. *As a lead is hurled [by] 300 men* (ὅσον ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων μόλιβδος ἀκοντίζεται). Lit. "as a hurled lead of 300 men." Preposition ὑπό might have been dropped.[250]

5:3S. *As far as 255 [?] of lead come, so great is its belly.* Reading of ms T conforming G. Ms L has instead an explanatory reading: "As great is its belly, so great is Hades." Ms T has probably a hapax **несъковии** (**олова**) "[?] of lead" (or "of tin"). It seems to be a verbal noun with a negative prefix **не**- from the verb **съковати** "forge."

COMMENTARY

The narrative returns from the excursus on the Vine back to the heavenly Beasts. Whereas some commentators assumed the previous digression to be interpolated,[251] others suggested that ch. 5 is a later addition. Turdeanu argues this on the basis of the parallels in the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of John*, both giving the measurements of the subterranean abyss.[252] However, in *3 Baruch* there are many other parallels with these works, and the question of mutual dependence remains open.[253] On the Beasts see introductory comm. to ch. 4.

5:3. *And as far as lead is hurled by 300 men, so great is his belly / As far as 255 [?] of lead come, so great is its belly.* Since days of yore it is known that "A Tophet is prepared of old … his firepit was made deep and wide" (Isa 30:33). A similar description is found in Hesiod:

> a brazen anvil falling from earth nine nights and days would reach Tartarus upon the tenth … It is a great gulf, and if once a man were within the gates, he would not reach the floor until a whole year had reached its end. (*Theog*. 713–48)

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250 Ryssel, "Baruch," 452.
251 Like Wright, *Heaven*, 331.
252 Turdeanu, "Baruch," 24–26.
253 See Harlow, *Baruch*, 123; esp. on relative dating of these works in n. 43.

Hell is measured by throwing a stone:

> And I inquired and said, "Lord, if these souls continue thus, thirty or forty generations being cast one upon another, if they be cast down yet deeper, I believe the pits would not contain them." And he said to me, "The abyss has no measure: for beneath it there follows also that which is beneath. And so it is that if a strong man took a stone and cast it into an exceeding deep well and after many hours it reaches the earth, so also is the abyss. For when the souls are cast therein, hardly after five hundred years do they come to the bottom." (*Apoc. Paul* 32)

> As big a stone as a man of thirty years old can roll, and let go down into the depth, even falling down for twenty years it will not arrive at the bottom of Hades. (*Apoc. John*)

It has enormous dimensions or even cannot be measured:

> The earth is one-sixtieth of the garden, the garden one-sixtieth of Eden, Eden is one-sixtieth of Gehenna. Hence the whole world is like a lid for Gehenna. Some say that Gehenna can not be measured. (*b. Pesah.* 94a; cf. *b. Taan.* 10a; *Cant. Rab.* 6.9; *Pesiq. R.* 41; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 71)

It is also a "womb:"

> O womb [Hades] larger than a city! O womb wider than heavens! O womb that held the one whom seven heavens could never contain! Painlessly you held within your bosom him who was able to change into the smallest of things! O womb that hid the Messiah who became visible to many! O womb that became greater than the space of the entire creation! (*Gos. Bart.* 1:17)

Our text might be corrupt: the weight of the plummet is missing. It is possible that ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων μόλιβδος "lead of 300 men" (see Notes) somehow goes back to its weight designation.

"Lead" of *3 Baruch* corresponds to "stone" of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the apocryphal *Apocalypse of John*. Heb אנך of Am 7:7–9 may refer to the lead plummet of the plumb line with which God tests his people. In LXX it was translated as Gk ἀδάμας "adamant," which may refer as to "steel" so also to "diamond." In Rabbinic Hebrew it means "plummet" (*Lev. Rab.* 33) as well as a kind of stone, "onyx." A combination of both, "stone of lead" (Heb אבן העפרת; Gk λίθος τοὺ μολίβδου), is also attested. In Zech 5:8, the angel throws it into the mouth of Iniquity (Heb הרשעה). "Lead" and Gehenna are explicitly connected by Origen in his comment to this verse:

> It is in the precincts of Jerusalem [where Gehenna is located], then, that punishments will be inflicted upon those who undergo the process of purification, who have received into the substance of their soul the elements of wickedness, which in a certain place is figuratively termed "lead," and on that account Iniquity is represented in Zechariah as sitting upon a "talent of lead." (Origen, *Cels.* 6.26)

The imagery of Flood, trees of Eden, abyss, the sun, and lead are united in a poetic fragment from *Hodayot*:

> … they will become a f[lood for any …] [למי מ …] green and dry [tree]; an abyss for every wild animal and bi[rd … as] lead in mighty water[s] [עפרת במים אדיר …] fire and they dry up. But the planting of fruit […] eternally, to a glorious Eden and frui[t] … And by my hand you have opened their spring with streams […] turning in accordance with the proper line, and the planting of their trees according to the plumb line of the sun … (1QH^{a} 16[8].18–22)

Three hundred men. This might be the size of a regular military detachment, as in Judg 7:6ff. See the three hundred men killed by Abishai (2 Sam 23:18; 1 Chr 11:11) and by Jews in Susa (Esth 9:15); three hundred shields made for Solomon (1 Kgs 10:17); three hundred angels who "keep the Garden" in *2 En.* (J) 8:8. The three hundred and eighteen warriors of Abraham in Gen 14:14 were interpreted as a regiment consisting of three "hundreds" with a commander and five "commanders of twenties" in each. Three hundred is a typological "exaggeration number" in Rabbinic literature. It is also a numerical value of Heb מעמקים "depths;" cf. "out of the depth of the belly of Hades" (Sir 51:5).

On obvious gematrias in *3 Baruch*, cf. comm. to 4:7G; 4:10.

Come, then, so that I may show you also works greater than these / If you wish, come and I will show you mysteries greater than these (ἐλθὲ οὖν ὅπως δείξω σοι καὶ μείζονα τούτων ἔργα / **хощеши ли приди и покажѫ ти таинꙑ болшѧ сихъ**). The wording is almost identical to John: "For the father loves the son, and shows him all things that he does, and *will show him works greater than these* [καὶ μείζονα τούτων δείξω αὐτῷ ἔργα], so that you will marvel" (John 5:20).[254] Both texts may allude to a pre-Christian source, like the verse of Ben Sira: "many *things greater than these* [μείζονα τούτων] lie hidden, for we have seen but few of his [God's] *works* [ἔργων]" (Sir 43:32). On "greater mysteries" vs. "lesser" ones in Hellenistic mysterial terminology used also by Philo, see comm. to 1:6. However, "great, large" is a basic attribute of super-sized descriptions throughout Baruch's journey: "door of great size" (2:2; cf. "large doors" in 3:1S; "large gates" on 11:2S); the thickness of heaven is "as great as is the distance from earth to heaven" (2:5); Builders dwell in a "great cell" (3:3S); Baruch is shown "great (and wonderful) things" (4:1); vine is a cause of "great evil" (4:9G); dragon's

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[254] Cf. also "But unto the virgins, and unto them that hunger and thirst after righteousness and afflict themselves for the name of the Lord, God will give things seven-fold greater than these, which now I will show thee" (*Apoc. Paul* 22).

belly is "great" (5:1–3); letters on Phoenix's wing are "very large," "like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia" (6:7); even the noise of celestial gates is "great as that of thirty cows" (6:13S; cf. Michael descending in "great sound" in 11:3); lightening sun is called "great glory," which causes "great fear" (7:3G); there is a celestial "large lake of water" (10:2S) and a crane there is as big "as great oxen, and all the birds were bigger than those in the world" (10:3). Thus, also here the expression "greater works/mysteries" may simply indicate physically larger phenomena (sun, Phoenix, lake, birds, Michael's bowl, etc.).

III. Lights or *Interim Region*

Sun, Sun Bird and Sun Protection (6:1–12)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taken me he brought me where the sun goes forth. 2 And he showed me a chariot-of-four,	1 And the angel took me and brought me from where the sun goes forth. 2 And he showed me a chariot-of-four,
which was with a fire underneath.	and there were fiery horses, and the horses were winged angels.
And upon the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire. The chariot was drawn by forty angels.	And upon this chariot was sitting a man wearing a fiery crown. And the chariot was drawn by forty angels.
And behold, a bird was circling in front of the sun,	[And] behold, one bird is flying,
about nine [cubits] away.	like one great mountain.
3 And I told the angel, "What is this bird?" And he told me, "This is the guardian of the inhabited world." 4 And I said, "Lord, how is it the guardian of the inhabited world? Show me!" 5 And the angel told me, "This bird goes before the sun, and stretching out its wings receives its fire-shaped rays. 6 For if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature; though, God appointed this bird."	3 I told the angel, "Lord, what is this bird?" And he told me, "This is the guardian of the inhabited world." 4 And I said, "How is it the guardian of the inhabited world? Show me!" 5 And the angel told me, "This bird, which goes before the sun, stretches out its wings and hides the fiery rays of the sun. 6 For if it did not hide the rays of the sun, the race of men and every creature on earth would not survive because of the flames of the sun. But God has commanded this bird to serve the inhabited world.
7 And it stretched out its wings,	7 But look what is written on the right wing." And he commanded the bird to stretch its wings,

belly is "great" (5:1–3); letters on Phoenix's wing are "very large," "like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia" (6:7); even the noise of celestial gates is "great as that of thirty cows" (6:13S; cf. Michael descending in "great sound" in 11:3); lightening sun is called "great glory," which causes "great fear" (7:3G); there is a celestial "large lake of water" (10:2S) and a crane there is as big "as great oxen, and all the birds were bigger than those in the world" (10:3). Thus, also here the expression "greater works/mysteries" may simply indicate physically larger phenomena (sun, Phoenix, lake, birds, Michael's bowl, etc.).

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7 And it stretched out its wings,	7 But look what is written on the right wing." And he commanded the bird to stretch its wings,

and I saw on its right wing very large letters, like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia. And the letters were of gold.

and I saw letters, like a threshing floor on earth, of 4,000. Those letters were purer than gold.

8 And the angel told me, "Read them." And I read and they said thus: "Neither earth nor heaven give me birth, but wings of fire give me birth."

8 And he told me, "Read them!" And I read them and they said thus: "Neither earth nor heaven give me birth, but wings of fire give me birth.

And the birds seek me."

9 And I said, "Lord, what is this bird, and what is its name?" 10 And the angel told me, "Its name is called Phoenix." 11 [And I said], "And what does it eat?" And he told me, "The manna of heaven and the dew of earth." 12 And I said, "Does the bird excrete?"

9 I Baruch said, "Lord, what is the name of this bird?" 10 And he told me, "Phoenix." 11 I Baruch said, "What does it eat?" And the angel told me, "Heavenly manna." 12 And I said, "Does it produce excrement?"

And he told me, "It excretes a worm, and the excrement of the worm becomes to cinnamon,

He told me, "Yes, it produces. Its excrement becomes the black cumin,

which kings and princes use.

with which kings are anointed.

But wait and you will see the Glory of God."

And again he told me, "Wait, Baruch, and you will see the Glory of God;

see what will happen to this bird outstripping the sun."

NOTES

6:2G. *Chariot-of-four* (τετραέλαστος). *Hapax legomenon*; cf. Heb (ן)טטראמולי from also unattested elsewhere Gk τετράμουλος referring to God's quadriga (*Tan.* Ki Tissa 21; *Exod. Rab.* 3; 42; 43).

6:2G. *Circling before* (περιτρέχον). Or "outstripping." Cf. **прѣтекѫщи** "outstripping" in 6:12S below.

6:2. *About nine [cubits] away / like one great mountain* (ὡς ὄρει ἐννέα / **ꙗко велиꙗ гора иедина**). This probably corrupted and elliptic reading is similar to ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν ἐννέα "about nine cubits" of *Disp. Panagiot* (most probably based on *3 Baruch*). Cf. *2 En.* 12, where the size of phoenixes and chalkydri is "nine hundred measures." James proposes to read in *3 Baruch*: ὡς ὄρη ἐννέα "like nine mountains." In this direction the text was understood also by a Slavic translator: "like one great mountain," which might be either a misreading of Gk ὡς ὄρη [ὄρει] ἐννέα or rendering of original Gk ὡς ὄρος ἓν. Moulton

proposed to reconstruct Gk ὡς ὄρεύων "as a guard," although this use of the word is very rare.[255]

6:5G. *Goes before* (παρατρέχει). Thus it is translated in S: **прѣдъ слъньцемь ходить**. Also possible: "accompanies," "outstrips." Cf. περιτρέχον in 6:2G and **прѣтекѫщи** in 6:12S.

6:7. *Like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia* (ὡς ἅλωνος τόπον ἔχων μέτρον ὡσεὶ μοδίων τετρακισχιλίων). Why to compare letters' size to a threshing-floor? Heb גורן may mean also "plaza" (1 Kgs 22:10; 2 Chr 18:9); cf. *1 En.* 56:6: "And the land of his elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway." In early Greek ἅλωός/ἅλων may mean also "sun disk" or "shield."

6:10. *Phoenix* (Φοῖνιξ / **фоуникьсь** LB **финизъ** S **фоунизъ** N **поуниза** Z **финикосъ** PVID).

6:12S. *Its excrement becomes the black cumin … anointed*. This passage occurs only in ms B. CS **коуманъ** "cumin" instead of **кинамонъ** is used, probably as a result of corruption. Ms B continues with probably an interpolation: "There was a king, and he had no cumin in the vessel [or "weapon," CS **съсѫдъ**]. When the king rose to a war, another struck, and there was a great tumult [CS **звѫкъ** "sound," and also "clamor, tumult" like Gk θόρυβος]." Family β has a variation: "This bird produces excrement of quince [**кидони**, in place of **кинамона** "cinnamon"]. Because this bird wakes up the kings, and the king does not reign without cinnamon, but he is anointed with it, when 40 armed guards guard the king near the throne." Both versions look corrupt; however, only they, in distinction to ms L, mention cinnamon (although corrupted) in accordance with G.

COMMENTARY

Solar Motifs

The author of *3 Baruch* assigns to the sun more lines than to any other phenomenon described in the work. Almost a quarter of the whole vision (chapters 6–8) deals with the sun and the Sun Bird which here is named Phoenix. The sun is mentioned in G fifteen times (while in the whole work God is referred to thirty-five times). There are ten question-answer sequences in the section devoted to the sun, more than in any other section. The explanation of such extreme interest may lie in the special role of heliolatry in the surrounding society, its elements in Jewish cult, and possibly implied polemics with it.[256]

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[255] Hughes, "Baruch," 536; Broek, *Myth*, 252

[256] Cf. Harlow, *Baruch*, 131. This is the view of Dean-Otting ("Baruch," 137–48). Himmelfarb, on the contrary, regards *3 Baruch* as providing "a way of integrating reverence of the sun into a monotheistic system" (*Ascent*, 143).

A vision of the sun could be a central point of pagan mysterial revelations as well. Moreover, the proximity of the images of Hades and the sun is not unique to *3 Baruch*. See the description of the Isis mystery in Corinth:

> I approached Death, the gates of Proserpine, and after that, I was ravished throughout all the Elements and returned to my place. In midnight I saw the Sun shining. I saw likewise the gods celestial and gods infernal, before whom I presented myself, and worshiped them. (Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.23)[257]

1. *Sun and cultic practices*. Conceptions of the sun as animated and divine being are widely known, from early Near Eastern and Mediterranean cults to syncretic solar pantheism and philosophical traditions of the late antiquity. In ancient scientific (philosophical) tradition since Plato (e.g., *Tim.* 30b) and Aristotle, heavenly bodies were also considered animated and divine. This idea, unorthodox for later Christianity, was developed by Origen (*Princ.* 1.7; *Cels.* 5.11). In the Hellenistic world there were first of all Stoics who believed in the absolute supremacy of the sun which, in their view, actually ruled the world. Similarly, in *3 Baruch* the sun is crowned (6:2; 7:4; 8:3–4) and compared to "the king" (9:8). Solar cults became popular in late Rome, and their elements were incorporated into the cult of emperors. The sun-like crown became an emperor's attribute from the time of Caligula (as with the Seleucids and Ptolemies).[258] Aurelian founded a temple of *Sol Invictus* (374 CE).[259] The image of Mithras, closely associated with the cult of the sun and light, also included a chariot drawn by four horses. These developments, alien to early Greek and Roman beliefs, possibly took place owing to the influence of the immediate neighbors of the Jews in the East.[260]

As for solar motifs in late Jewish sources, they were not necessarily borrowed from the Hellenistic environment. Early internal roots for Jewish interest in the celestial bodies, and specifically the sun, should not be neglected. Mythological (most probably more than poetic or allegorical) personification of both luminaries is widespread in early Jewish thought.[261]

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[257] Cf. Papyrus Rhind I (after the second half of the 1st cent. BC) which lists the following as objects of veneration: sun, moon, three elements (without earth), and the dead (Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic*, 274).

[258] Philo, *Leg.* 14. See comm. on "crown" in 6:2.

[259] See Halsberghe, *Cult*, 27–54.

[260] See Dean-Otting's excursus on "the role of the sun in antiquity" (Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 137–148).

[261] See *1 En.* 2:1–5; 3; *Pss. Sol.* 18:10–12; Philo, *Plant.* 3.12; *Somn.* 1.4; 2.16; *Opif.* 24.73; *Gig.* 2.8; *Apoc. Paul* 4–6; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 1:16 and Num 28:15; *Gen. Rab.* 6.3; *Mek.*, Bo 1, 3a; *b. Sanh* 42a; *b. Hul* 60b; *b. Sheb* 9a; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5.54a; *Pesiq. R.* 15.78a; *Tan. B.* 2.47; *Pirqe R. El.* 4 and 51.

Solar imagery was integrated in Jewish cult practices long before an encounter of Jews with the Hellenistic civilization and was probably shared with Babylonian and Assyrian cultures. Dangers of the worship of luminaries are known to the biblical texts; see, e.g., Deut 4:19; 17:3 (cf. *Temple Scroll* [11Q19] 55.15–21; 2 Kgs 21:3–5; 23:11; Ezek 8:16 (cf. Jer 2:27); Job 31:26 (esp. LXX); and probably Isa 24:23. Even the specific image of the sun chariot is attested: "He [king Josiah] removed from the entrance to the Temple of the Lord the horses that the kings of Judah had dedicated to the sun […] Josiah then burned the chariots dedicated to the sun" (2 Kgs 23:11). Archeological findings from the period of Israeli monarchy may corroborate this evidence: small figures of horses with a disk between their ears have been interpreted as "sun horses;"[262] note, in addition, sun disks with winged scarabs on the seals from the same period.[263] Later tannaim forbade the use of solar images even for non-cultic purposes; so *m. Abod. Zar.* 3.3 (cf. *t. Abod. Zar.* 6; *b. Abod. Zar.* 42b), which adduces images of the sun and moon together with the image of dragons. See further the sun worship witnessed in *Gen. Rab.* 50.12; *b. Ber.* 7a; *b. Abod. Zar.* 4a–b; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 2.13. At the same time, solar images appear in positive contexts in Isa 60:1–3; Mal 3:20; Ps 19 and pass.; LXX 1 Kgs (3 Kgds) 8:53. Some even believe that the sun was an integral part of early Israelite/Canaanite religion with its rudiments preserved in the Jerusalem Temple cult.[264] See also Qumranic practice of praying towards the sunrise (i.e., turning backs to the Temple located to the west of Qumran; cf. Josephus on the Essenes' reverence of the sun in *Bell.* 2.128, 148).[265] Helios and Jewish divine epithets appear together also in the later magical texts (PGM IV.1484). The eclectic combination of Jewish and heliolatrous elements is also attested in abundance in other Greek magic papyri.[266] The solar cult might be implied as a dominant one in the image of the most superior golden God *Zoukhe* of *Apoc. Abr.* 6:7. The same name (Gk Ζουχε) occurs in a prayer to Helios in magic papyri (PGM IV.1983).[267] A Greek prayer to Helios transliterated with Hebrew letters is found in *Sefer HaRazim* 4.[268] Christian authors described Christ as

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262 See Kenyon. *Digging*,142; idem, "Mystery."

263 Cross, "King."

264 See Taylor, *Yahweh*; Wiggins "Yahweh"; Smith, "Helios"; id. "Case"; Rendsburg, "Egyptian"; Smith, "Near Eastern"; Dever, "Silence"; Keel "Sturmgott"; and Rosen, "Shrine." Cf. also Wright, *Heaven* 235–236, nn. 43–46.

265 See Smith, "Case."

266 See the survey in Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 141–145.

267 See Preisendanz, *Papyri*, 3.222–223; Kulik, *Retroverting*, 89–90.

268 Margalioth, *Sefer*, 71; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 139–40.

"the sun of the world" and opposed the "sun of righteousness/victory" (Heb שמש צדקה; Gk ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης) of Mal 3:20 (4:2) to *sol invictus* of pagans (Leo, *Serm.* 27; *Nativ. Dom.* 7.3; Eusebius of Alexandria, *Or.* 6).[269]

2. *Solar imagery.* Whatever the attitudes to the sun and sun worship in different Jewish milieux, the topic remained ever actual and important. Early Jewish sources contain abundant evidence of solar imagery without explicit cultic references. Solar images, and specifically the sun chariot, are known from *1 En.* 72:4–5; 75:4 (also on the moon – 73:2 and stars – 75:3, 8), where the chariots are driven by the winds (or "spirits," i.e., angels). Many parallels to the sun and moon chariots of *3 Baruch* are found in *2 En*: their chariots are driven and accompanied by angels (*2 En.* 11:3–5; 12 (A):2; 14 (J):3; see the "chariot" in place of "wheels" in some mss of *2 En.* 11:2 and (14:4) and the wheel-derived names of angels Galgaliel and Ofaniel); the sun's crown is taken away and brought back by four (or four hundred in J) angels (*2 En.* 14:2–3). Phoenixes and chalkydri sing: "The light-giver is coming to give radiance to the whole world" (*2 En.* (J) 15:2; as in *3 Baruch* 6:14). Whereas in the extant version of *3 Baruch* the sun and moon are located (together with the Serpent and Hades) in the third heaven,[270] in *2 Enoch* these luminaries are located in the fourth heaven; on the other hand, in *Midr. Pss.* 19.13 and *Pesiq. R.* 19 they are located in the second (see comm. to 6:6 below).[271] Joseph is likened to "the sun coming to us from heaven in his chariot" (*Jos. Asen.* 6:5).

But the closest parallels to the description of *3 Baruch* come from iconography. The crowned sun riding on the chariot-of-four, widely known from Greek tradition, is found on mosaic pavements in at least seven late antique Palestinian synagogues (Hammat Tiberias, Khirbet Susiya, Na'aran, Husifa, Yafia, Beit Alpha and Sepphoris) and also on Jewish amulets. Such pavements are not found in the decoration of churches or in synagogues of the Diaspora and are extremely rare in pagan buildings throughout the world (only three have been found).[272] They contain the elements

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269 See Fideler, *Jesus*.

270 Although it is never stated explicitly, it may be derived from 7:2 and from 4:2 understood as a journey to the third heaven (although the number is not mentioned). Thus the reading of 10:1 speaks on a journey to the fourth heaven; see comments to 4:2, 10:1; and introductory comm. to ch. 11.

271 As probably in an older version of *3 Bar*, see introductory comm. to ch. 11.

272 Roussin, "Sun," 53. Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 2.121ff.; 4.3–62; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 146–147; Hachlili, *Ancient*, 301–309, pls. 71–78 (cf. eadem, "Zodiac"); Weiss, "Sepphoris."

included also in the description of *3 Baruch*, like a four-horse chariot, a nimbus (crown of *3 Baruch*) above the head of a human figure riding on it, and rays emanating from the figure.[273]

There were different attempts to explain such an introduction of the well known idolatrous images into Jewish cultic context. Some supposed actual worship.[274] However, this theory is based upon evidence that belongs mostly to the First Temple period (see above). The appearance of the same images in the clearly monotheistic contexts of *3 Baruch* and *2 Enoch* show that the pavements have nothing to do with an actual solar cult. Another suggestion ascribes the images to angelic worship (cf. comm. to ch. 12: *Angelic Intercession*). Also for some Greek sources Helios is not a god but a titan (*Anacreontea,* Fr. 46; Ovid, *Her.* 15.135; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 1060ff; etc.) and is only "*like* the deathless gods" (*Homeric Hymn* 31). Luminaries were often equated with angels (e.g., Ps 148:1–4). It was believed that the sun was commanded by God not directly but "by the command of his servants" (ἐν ἐπιταγῇ δούλων αὐτου; *Pss. Sol.* 18:12). The figure of Helios is found on Jewish amulets together with the names of angels.[275] Jewish angelic worship integrating luminaries is witnessed by Clement of Alexandria: "they adore angels and archangels, the months and the moon" (*Strom.* 6.5.41). Astrological beliefs could also have been a factor. Astrological texts are found, for example, in Qumran and Geniza (4Q186; 4Q318; 4Q561; Cambridge Geniza MS T-S H 11.51; T-S K 21.95.L).[276] They are also attested in *Treat. Shem* 2 and 8:12. Abraham taught astrology to Egyptians and Enoch founded this discipline (Artapanus, *En. tois Ioudaikois* in Eusebius' *Pr. Ev.* 9.18; Ps.-Eupolemus in ibid. 9.17.8). R. Hanina recognized planetary influence on Jews (*b. Shab.* 156a–b). Twelve "zodiacs" are mentioned in *2 En.* 21:7; 30:5–6 (cf. twelve "portals" in *1 En.* 72 and 75). On the other hand, astrology is condemned in *1 En.* 8:3; *Jub.* 12:16–18. Abraham was commanded to reject astrology, opposed to prophecy, in *Gen. Rab.* 44:8–12; cf. *b. Shab.* 156a–b.[277] How-

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273 Dean-Otting mentions a winged chariot which appears on a coin from the Persian period with inscription *yhd* (Judea), but there can be no certainty that it is a sun-chariot ("Baruch," 169, n. 91; Momigliano, *Alien*, 80).

274 "Helios on synagogue pavements represents a minor deity to whom some members of the congregation might have addressed prayers – not to the image itself, but to the deity it represents" (Roussen, "Sun"); cf. Smith, "Goodenough's," 61.

275 Goodenough, *Jewish*, 2.258f; 3. 1116–17; Bonner, *Magical*, 148ff., 291, n. 227.

276 See Greenfield, Sokoloff, "Astrological."

277 For ambivalent references to astrology in Rabbinic literature, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.235; 5.227; Urbach, *Sages*, 1.277.

ever, modern terminology may be misleading: the interest in celestial bodies and even in their personification does not always reflect a belief in their influence on human destiny on earth; it could be an interest in what we today would call "astronomy," which was not distinguished from "astrology" in the period under discussion.[278] Such an interest, which is far from astrology or religious syncretism, is evident in *1 En.* 72–82; *2 En.* 11–15.

Most probably, we are dealing with universal imagery of late antiquity, an element of a meta-language used even by those who condemned syncretism or monotheistic deviations such as astrology or angel worship. Thus, Philo *(Migr.* 32) and probably Josephus (*Bell.* 5.5.4; 6.5.3) explicitly reject astrology while widely using its imagery (Philo, *Quaest. Gen.* 4.164; *Quaest. Exod.* 2.75–78.109, 112–14; cf. also *Somn.* 1.214; *Her.* 176; *Praem.* 65; Josephus, *Bell.* 5.5.5). As this imagery decorated the language and narrative of Hellenistic authors, so also it decorated their physical environment. *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Lev 26:1 refers to the halachic permissibility of such imagery in mosaic pavements (as opposed to "figured stone") in "places of worship" on the condition that they are not venerated (cf. *m. Abod. Zar.* 4.4 on a "profaned idol" losing its religious significance).[279]

The image of a crowned sun charioteer was adopted also in Rabbinic thought (*Pirqe R. El.* 6; *Num. Rab.* 12; *Baraita deMaase Bereshit* 50), although it is difficult to distinguish between the Greek image of a crowned figure riding the chariot and a Jewish image of a wreathed groom sitting on the throne, since the sun is likened to a groom in Ps 19:6(5) (for the Jewish custom of wreathes for bridegrooms, see *m. Sotah* 9.14).[280] This brings us to a more general problem of discerning between the sun chariot and the throne of Glory.

3. *Sun Chariot vs. Throne of Glory.* Quadriga was an attribute not only of Helios but also of Zeus/Jupiter and other deities. Heavenly chariots (sometimes of fire) – however, not as sun chariots, but as a means of transportation of visionaries and angels to heaven – appear in 2 Kgs 2:11 ("chariots of fire and horses of fire"); *1 En.* 70:2; *T. Abr.* 9; 11; 15; *Apoc. Mos.* 33:2 ("a chariot of light, born by four bright eagles"); and *Jos. Asen.* 17:6 (an angelic fiery chariot-of-four returns into heaven towards the east).

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[278] See Charlesworth, "Jewish"; Stuckrad, "Jewish."

[279] See Charlesworth, "Jewish," 199. Charlesworth also refers to the conception of Urbach's argument for purely a decorative function of such images based on *m. Abod. Zar.* 4.4 and *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* to Lev 26:1. See Urbach, "Rabbinical," 149–65, 229–45.

[280] Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.36.

Chariot (and especially fiery or chariot-of-four), or the fiery Throne, is in fact an important divine attribute. "God of heaven" rides in a chariot (often fiery) in Isa 66:15; Hab 3:8; Ps 68:18(17); etc. Fire burns under the Divine Throne in *1 En.* 14:19 (as in *3 Bar.* 6:2G). The Throne itself is fiery in Dan 7:9 and *Apoc. Abr.* 18:3. The image of God's chariot was adopted by Philo (*Somn.* 1.25; *Her.* 42; 48; *Fug.* 19; *Conf.* 28; *Monarch.* 1.1; cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 2.46). On the four faces of the Living Creatures carrying the Throne-Chariot, see *b. Hag.* 13b. Heb (טטראמולי(ן (from Gk τετράμουλος, unattested elsewhere) designating God's quadriga appears in *Tan.* Ki Tissa 21; *Exod. Rab.* 3; 42; 43. Dean-Otting proposes a connection between God's chariots and those of the sun in *3 Baruch*: "the group of forty angels drawing the chariot is a parallel to the ever-present heavenly host which serves the Deity in the highest heavens. That Baruch has been promised a view of the δόξα θεοῦ and immediately looks upon the sun-chariot instead has elevated the tension of this passage."[281] Thus, according to this interpretation, it is *almost* a Merkavah vision. Gruenwald goes even further, suggesting that "the vision of the sun in the third heaven actually is an allegorical Merkavah vision."[282]

Sun Bird

The image of the Sun Bird in *3 Baruch* presents a unique combination of Jewish and Hellenistic traditions, some of which may have common oriental roots.

1. *Non-Jewish Phoenix*. The phoenix as a resurrecting bird or a sun bird is normally attributed to Egyptian provenance; however, the motif is known from India to Greece. Most Greek sources indeed refer to Egyptian tradition (Hesiod, *Frag.* 204 apud Plutarch, *Def. Or.*;[283] Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.73;[284] Antiphanes, *Frag.* 175 apud Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 14.655b; Pliny,

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281 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 128.

282 Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 69.

283 "The cawing crow lives for nine generations of young [var: "old"] men, but the deer four times longer than the crow; the raven reaches the age of three deer, but the phoenix of nine ravens; we, however, the fair-haired nymphs, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus, reach the age of ten phoenixes."

284 "Another bird also is sacred; it is called the phoenix. I myself have never seen it, but only pictures of it; for the bird comes but seldom into Egypt, once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden but mostly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing

Nat. Hist. 10.4; etc.). Core elements of the image of the phoenix are: it is normally solitary and unique in its kind;[285] eternal life or resurrection (sometimes through burning); its home or origin is in the east (close to the sun's rising) or some other kind of relation to the sun; no or ephemeral nourishment; a bed of spices (on which the phoenix immolates itself); a worm which, rising out of the cinders of the old phoenix, becomes a new one. The phoenix became an emblematic image for some Gnostic groups, and was closely connected to Gnostic baptismal concepts.[286] Very popular in Christian iconography, in patristic tradition, the phoenix signified the resurrection of Jesus (Clement of Rome, *1 Ep. Cor.* 1.25–26; Tertullian, *Res. Carn.* 1.13; Lactantius, *Carmen de ave phoenice* 169–70; etc.).[287]

1.1. *Resurrection*. The motif of resurrection, which seems to be the *raison d'être* of the Hellenistic image, is absent from *3 Baruch*. The rebirth in fire may be only implied in 6:8: "Neither earth nor heaven give me birth, but wings of fire give me birth."[288] The dew on which Phoenix feeds (with manna; see 6:11G; in S – only manna), may also be connected to resurrection motifs (see comm. on "dew of heaven" in 10:9).

Two other motifs common to our Phoenix and the Hellenistic one are the *worm* and *cinnamon* excreted by it (6:12; (in S – only cinnamon).

1.2. *Worm*. The question of Baruch, whether the Bird excretes at all, following the description of its unsubstantial diet of manna and dew, resembles Pliny's notion that "nobody ever saw the phoenix taking any food" (*Nat. Hist.* 10.4) and especially Plutarch's account of a little Persian bird, "with no excrement in its guts, so that it is thought that it lives by air and dew" (*Artax.* 19.3). The phoenix's excretion of worms seems unique for *3 Baruch*. The phenomenon of excrement producing worms is known in Rabbinic

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his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird."

285 Except Antiphanes and *2 Enoch*, where pl. "phoenixes" are mentioned, and Nag Hammadi *On the Origin of the World*, speaking on three phoenixes (161–79).

286 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 130.

287 See Broek, *Myth*, 31–43, 119–132.

288 Angelic rebirth of Enoch also happens through fire (*3 Enoch*).

zoology, where the excrement of young ravens abandoned by their parents is said to produce worms upon which the young feed during the first days of their lives (*Lev. Rab.* 19; *Pirqe R. El.* 21; *Midr. Sam.* 5.57). However, other ways to generate worms are attested for the phoenix: a worm is generated from the dead phoenix as a larva for a new one (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.2);[289] in the Nag Hammadi *On the Origin of the World* the "worm that has been born out of the phoenix is a human being." At the same time, the Rabbinic counterpart to the Phoenix, Ziz, is homonymic to Rabbinic Hebrew "worm, insect" (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Deut 14:19; *Sifra*, Shemini 10.12; *y. Ter.* 8.45b; *b. Hul.* 67b).

1.3. *Cinnamon*. There are many fabulous accounts about the origin of cinnamon in antiquity (Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.110f.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 12.89–94; Arrian, *Anab.* 7.20; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 9.5.1f.). The phoenix is the one who brought cinnamon to men and is consecrated to the sun (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 9.5.6; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 12.89). In many sources it is an element of the phoenix's nest (Ovid, *Met.* 15.385; cf. the same but with "cinnamon birds" in Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.11; Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 9.13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.97) or it is among the funeral bed of spices for the phoenix's self-conflagration.[290]

In Jewish lore cinnamon might have a celestial origin: Enoch finds cinnamon in heaven (*1 En.* 30:3 and 32:1). Adam brings it among other species from Paradise (*Apoc. Mos.* 29:6). Its use was prescribed for making the anointing-oil (Exod 39:23). Whereas some mss of S speak definitely of the use of cinnamon for coronation anointing, in G the purpose for which "kings and princes use" it is not mentioned (besides anointing, it could have been used also for embalming, as it was in ancient Egypt).

The *name*, *birth of fire*, *worm*, and *cinnamon* are details which may be regarded as common to our Sun Bird and Hellenistic phoenix. It is notable, however, that all these are concentrated in a small fragment at the very end of the description of the Bird (6:8–12) and thus might have been added in the process of the Hellenization of the story.

The differences between our Phoenix and the typical Hellenistic descriptions (see 3.1–2 below) prompted scholars to trace its origin to gigantic or

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289 See Broek, 187, 214–216.

290 See Broek, 164–170. Cinnamon was used to aromatize sacrificial fires and smoke (Ovid, *Fast.* 3.731).

sun birds of India[291] or Persia.[292] However, (1) there are no convincing arguments of such direct influence on *3 Baruch*, while (2) almost every motif common to *3 Baruch* and oriental traditions appears also in other Jewish, mainly Rabbinic, texts. Thus, for the period of creation of *3 Baruch* we may consider these non-Hellenistic motifs as Jewish, whatever their oriental sources may ultimately have been.

2. *Early Jewish Phoenix*. So called "phoenixes and chalkydri" (in plural; in fact, according to some mss of *2 Enoch* (ms R = NLB 321) they are just "*like* phoenixes and chalkydri") accompany the sun in *2 Enoch*. After the vision of the sun and its route in the fourth heaven, Enoch is shown "flying spirits:"

> the solar elements, called phoenixes and chalkydri, strange and wonderful, for their form was that of a lion, their tail was that of a [?], and their head that of a crocodile. Their appearance was multi-colored, like a rainbow. Their size was 900 measures. Their wings were those of angels, but they have twelve wings each. They accompany and run with the sun, carrying heat and dew, and whatever is commanded them from God. (*2 En.* (J) 12:1–2)

When the sun rises, they greet it (as in *3 Bar.* 6:14S):

> the elements of the sun, called phoenixes and chalkydri break into song, herefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord. (*2 En.* (J) 15:1)

In *2 En.* (J) 15:2 they also pronounce, "The Light giver is coming to give radiance to the whole world" (as in *3 Bar.* 6:14S).

Among the angels of the sixth heaven there are more phoenixes:

> six phoenixes and six cherubim and six six-winged ones continually with one voice singing one voice, and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice before the Lord at his footstool. (*2 En.* 19:6)[293]

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[291] James, "Baruch," xliii; cf. Toy, Ginzberg: "It is perhaps the one Jewish work which undoubtedly betrays Indian influence. The phoenix, referred to in this Apocalypse as the companion of the sun, and the wonderful description of it, are probably of Indian origin; for Indian mythology relates much that is similar concerning the bird Garuda, the companion of the sun-god Vishnu ("Mahabharata Adi Parva," xvi.-xxxiv)." ("Baruch," 551).

[292] Broek, *Myth*, 267–68; Ginzberg traces Rabbinic cosmic birds to the sacred rooster of Avesta (Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.48).

[293] Cf. also Lactantius, *Carmen de ave phoenice* 33–54, probably in dependence on *2 Enoch*. Similar traditions are preserved in texts posterior to *3 Baruch*, of which at least some may be dependent on it (Laevius, *Pterigion Phoenicis*; Byzantine *Physiologus*; *Disputatio Panagiotae*). In some of these sources magic birds also moderate

Very similar description appears in the Slavonic *About all Creation*:

> There is a Rooster that has a head up to heaven, and the sea is up to its knees.[294] When the sun bathes in the Ocean, then the Ocean surges and waves start to beat the Rooster's feathers. And having felt the waves it says, "Kukoreku," which means, "Light giver, give light to the world." When it sings, then all the roosters sing at the same hour in the whole inhabited world.[295]

Ezekiel the Tragedian in his *Exagoge* (254–69; apud Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 9.29) describes in detail the appearance of a very special bird, which was "full wondrous, such as man has never seen; it was near in scope to twice the size of an eagle"; "its voice pre-eminent of every other winged thing"; and "it seemed to be the king of birds, for all the birds, as one, in fear did haste to follow after him, and he before, like some triumphant bull, went striding forth with rapid step apace."[296] Since the description might be connected to the palms of Elim in Exod 15:27, and LXX there uses a homonym Gk φοῖνιξ for a palm-tree (Heb תמר), it is very probable that the name "Phoenix" is implied. The fragment appears also in Pseudo-Eustatius, *Commentarius in Hexaemeron* (PG 18.729D), where the bird is presented as "Phoenix."[297]

3. *Rabbinic phoenix and sun birds*. Many of the "universal" traditions on the phoenix or the Sun Bird, and associated images were well known to Rabbis. It has been recognized that the mythic birds Ziz, Ben Nets, Field Rooster (תרנגול ברא), Bar Yokni, Hol (of Job 28:18), Urshina, and Malham

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the sun's radiation (see James, "Baruch," lxiv; Ryssel, "Baruch," 452; Broek 261f; 287–297). Griffin of Byzantine *Physiologus* (52) shares also the unique motif of the inscription on the bird's wings (*3 Bar.* 6:7–8). Moreover, these words are almost identical to *3 Bar.* 6:14: "O Light giver, give light to the world!" (Harlow, *Baruch*, 137; cf. also in Slavonic versions of *Physiologus*; Belova, *Bestiarij*, 92; 283). Phoenix was supposed to speak on himself on his wings in the *technopaegnic* poem by Laevius *Pterygion Phoenicis* (apud Charisius, *Ars Grammatica* 4.6; see Broek 268–269). An untitled astrological work also mentions griffin which screens the rays of the sun, defending earth. It loses its feathers from much heat and has to purify itself each day in the Nile. It also carries a rooster, which announces the hours of the day. This work contains also the account of the 365 gates of heaven, mentioned in *3 Baruch* close to Phoenix (6:13), and explaining that the sun enters a different gate each day (the explanation which is lacking in *3 Baruch*). The same work mentions that the sun receives its light from God's throne (Shangin, *Codices*, 107; Broek, *Myth*, 273).

294 Cf. "A bird standing up to its ankles in the water while its head reached the sky" (*b. B. Bat.* 73b).

295 Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki*, 2.349f.

296 Translation by R. G. Robertson, "Ezekiel," 819.

297 Cf. Wacholder, Bowman ("Ezechielus") who argue against this identification.

of Rabbinic aggadah share many features with the Hellenistic phoenix, and with Phoenix of *3 Baruch*.[298] In fact, these images must represent two clearly distinct traditions which seem to fuse only in late sources. These are the traditions of the Resurrecting Bird and of the Gigantic Bird.

3.1. *Bird of Resurrection*. Rabbinic sources clearly distinguish between the two phenomena, consistently using different names for the Gigantic Bird, on the one hand, and, on the other, for the immortal or resurrecting bird known as Hol (*Gen. Rab.* 19.5 referring to Job 29:18; the same must have been a tradition underlying LXX Job 29:19; *Tan.* Intr. 155; *Midr. Sam.* 12.81), Urshina (*b. Sanh.* 108b) or Malham/Maltam (*2 Alphabet Ben Sira* 27a–29b; *Bet HaMidr.* 6.12).

Both Hol and Ziz are treated in adjacent chapters of *Genesis Rabba*, both in connection with the fall of the first humans (including the images of the Tree and the serpent), but not identified with each other. Hol refuses to eat from the Tree of Knowledge (in distinction to other animals) that gave him an eternal life:

> … it lives a thousand years and at the end of thousand years a fire issues from its nest and burns it until as much as an egg is left of it. Then it grows limbs again and lives. (*Gen. Rab.* 19.5; cf. *Tan.* Intr. 155; *Midr. Sam.* 12.81)

In distinction to Phoenix of *3 Baruch* and the Gigantic Bird of Rabbinic tradition, these birds are not gargantuan at all:

> Father [Noah] found Urshina lying in the back of the ark. He asked it, "Do you not want any food?" It replied, "I saw that you were very busy and I did not want to burden you." He [Noah] said, "May it be his will that you may never die, as it is written, "I thought I shall die with my nest and multiply my days as Hol [Heb חול "sand"; Job 29:18]." (*b. Sanh.* 108b)

This accords with the Greek phoenix that is "like an eagle in shape and bigness" (Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.73) and with the phoenix-like bird in Ezekiel the Tragedian that is "twice an eagle's size" (see above).

3.2. *Gigantic Bird*. Rabbinic Gigantic (or Cosmic, Protective, Solar) Birds known as Ziz, Ben Nets, Bar Yokni, Field Rooster, are often listed with other cosmic beasts, just as our Phoenix comes after the heavenly Serpent and Hades, and is located together with them. For a possible connection of "Phoenix" of *3 Baruch* with the trio of cosmic beasts, see introductory comm. to ch. 4 (*Celestial Bestiary*).

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[298] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.28–29; 5.46–48, nn. 129–39; Broek, *Myth*, 264–68.

In distinction to the Greek phoenix, who is normally a small bird (see above), the Bird of *3 Baruch* and Rabbinic birds are enormously large, e.g., "the Field Rooster, whose ankles rest on the ground and whose head reaches the sky" (*Tg* Ps 50:11; identified here with Ziz). See a story by Rabbah b. Bar Hanna:

> Once we traveled on board a ship and we saw a bird standing up to its ankles in the water while its head reached the sky. We thought the water was not deep and wished to go down to cool ourselves, but a *bat kol* called out: "Do not go down here, for a carpenter's axe was dropped seven years ago and it has not yet reached the bottom. And this, not [only] because the water is deep but [also] because it is rapid." R. Ashi said, "That was Ziz of the fields, for it is written, "Ziz of the fields is with me" [i.e., its head is in heaven; Ps 50:11]. (*b. B. Bat.* 73b)

Note the similarity with "a Rooster that has a head up to heaven, and the sea is up to its knees" in the Slavonic *About All Creation* cited above. Another story of the same genre is mentioned by R. Judah: "Once an egg of Bar Yokni fell and drowned sixty towns and broke three hundred cedars" (*b. Bek.* 57b). In one version of *Gen. Rab.* 19.4 (ms London 370) Ziz is called "a huge bird."

As in *3 Baruch* the Bird's main function – like the ozone layer in modern conception – is to protect all the living from solar radiation.[299] Ziz (or Nets) also does it by stretching the wings: "R. Yudan son of R. Shimon says, 'Ziz is a clean bird, and when it spreads its wings, it darkens the orb of the sun'" (*Gen. Rab.* 19.4). The fuller account is found in *Lev. Rab.*:

> As a recompense for the prohibition of [certain] birds [you will eat] Ziz, which is a clean [or "huge" in ms London 370] bird. Hence it is written "I know all the birds of the mountains, and Ziz [Heb זיז, 'moving things'] of the fields is mine" [Ps 50:11]. R. Yudan son of R. Shimeon says, "When it [Ziz] spreads out its wings, it darkens the orb of the sun, as it is said, "does Nez [Heb נץ 'hawk'] soar by your wisdom and stretch his wings toward the south?" [Job 39:26] (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10)[300]

Whereas without the Phoenix's protection "the race of men would not survive" (*3 Bar.* 6:5), the reason for the darkening of the sun by Rabbinic birds is explained in the following:

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[299] For other means of sun protection in ancient Jewish lore, see comm. to 6:6.

[300] In *Genesis Rabba* Ziz is defined as "clean bird" without any contextual justification. The definition must go back to a thus presumably older tradition presented in *Leviticus Rabba*, where Ziz is destined for food of the righteous. This motif is totally lacking in *3 Baruch*. Is our "Phoenix" also pure? Cf. Hades, whose appearance was defined "impure" in 4:3G above.

> South wind is the hardest of all, and were it not that Ben Nez stays it with its wings, it would destroy the world, as it is said, "does the hawk [Heb נֵץ] soar by your wisdom and stretch his wings toward the south?" [Job 39:26] (*b. Git.* 31b; *b. B. Bat.* 25b)

This protective function of Ziz is in accordance with another meaning of the Rabbinic Heb זִיז, "shed" (usually over an entrance or window; *m. Ohol.* 8.2; 14.1, 4; *m. Erub.* 10.4; *B. Bat.* 3.8). The connection between the concepts of "protection" and "shadowing" may also be rooted in the idiomatic use of biblical Hebrew (see comm. to 6:3 below).[301]

Whereas *3 Baruch* states, that "God appointed this bird" / "God has commanded this bird to serve the inhabited world" (6:6), the biblical prooftext of *Lev. Rab.* (as interpreted there) says: "Ziz of the fields is mine" (Ps 50:11; *Lev. Rab.* 22.10), and at the end of the account of three beasts in *Leviticus Rabba* R. Meir stresses: "Who does not know of all these, that the hand of God made this [Job 12:9]?" (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10, end).

In *3 Baruch* Phoenix is nourished by manna and dew (6:11). In most sources that mention the feeding habits of the phoenix, the bird is described as not eating at all, or as feeding upon the vapor of the air and the heat of the sun. Only the Coptic *Sermon on Mary* mentions that it eats "the dew of heaven and the flowers of the trees of Lebanon" (frg. U, p. 42, col. a, II. 31–32).[302] The nourishment of heavenly beings (and Behemoth among them) is discussed in *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6; *Pesiq. R.* 16; 48; *Num. Rab.* 21.16–19. *3 Baruch* also treats the nourishment of the Serpent-Hades (4:5G; 4:3S; 5:3S). Manna eaten by Phoenix is known as "angelic food" (LXX Ps 78(77):25); *b. Yoma* 75b; see comm. to 6:11 below).

Is Phoenix of *3 Baruch* an angelic being? A tradition preserved in late midrash and ascribed to R. Alexander may support the suggestion: "It [the sun's wheel] has eight angels: four in front of it, and four behind it. In front of it – so that it will not burn the world, behind it – so that the it will not cool down" (*Eccl. Zut.* 1; *Yal.* Eccl 967).[303]

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[301] Cf. also Rev 7:15–16, where the pious are protected by the "tent," so that "the sun will not beat upon them." Maksimovich (*Ptitsa*, 322) offered an explanation of a connection between the name and function of the "protecting Phoenix," comparing it to "wide palm [φοῖνιξ] leaves in which shadow the Egyptian oases are protected from the heat." The elaboration of what is probably the same image of the giant bird spreading its wings and shadowing "all the earth," but in a negative sense, is found in *4 Ezra* 11.

[302] On the phoenix diet as "the food of eschaton" see Broek, *Myth*, 345.

[303] Or rather it confuses the two phenomena, the sun bird(s) and the angels serving the sun, which are often four; on this see comm. to 8:4.

As Phoenix "wakes up the roosters on earth" (6:16), so also the birds hear the voice of Ziz in late midrash:

> During the month of Tishre God gives Ziz of the fields strength, and strains oneself, and rises its head, and rises on its feet, and raises its voice, and the birds hear its voice, and its fear falls on a bird of prey and vulture every year. (*Be-Hokhma Yasad Erets* 6 in *Otsar HaMidr.* 5)

The same procedure is described in the Slavonic *About All Creation* (see above) and in *T. Adam* 1:10 (see comm. to 6:16).

Conclusions. The Sun Bird of *3 Baruch* is "Phoenix" only in name. It bears the Greek name, but lacks the main features of the phoenix of Hellenistic and Christian traditions. At the same time, there is a striking similarity between "Phoenix" as described in *3 Baruch* and Rabbinic traditions about Ziz, Ben Nets, Field Rooster, and Bar Yokni (distinct from the traditions of Hol, Urshina, Malham). In its main functions – and, first of all, protecting the earth from the sun's radiation – it is identical to gigantic birds of Jewish lore as preserved by Rabbinic sources. The name "Phoenix" here is misleading and appeared only in order to "translate" the image from one culture to another. This model of *interpretatio graeca* is well attested in the substitution of the names of deities and heroes in Greek and Latin texts depicting barbarian cults (examples are innumerable; cf., e.g., Herodotus, *Hist*. 4.59; Origen, *Cels*. 6.39). According to the same model Sheol is rendered as Hades in *3 Baruch*, as elsewhere in Jewish Hellenistic literature beginning with LXX (along with Tartarus). See also Jewish texts featuring "Titans" for Nephilim and Rephaim (LXX 2Sam 5:18, 22; Jdt 6:16; cf. Josephus, *Ant*. 7.71).

Thus, *3 Baruch* hardly contains a "monotheistic redaction of the phoenix myth," nor does it represent a mediatory stage in "the transformation of the Hellenistic phoenix myths into specifically rabbinic myths."[304] In distinction to Rabbinic stories about Hol, Urshina, and Malham, features common to "Phoenix" of *3 Baruch* and to Rabbinic gigantic birds have nothing to do with the Greek phoenix[305] and must be rooted in other traditions probably older than Hellenistic ones. *3 Baruch*, as well as "phoenixes" of *2 Enoch*, may instead represent the superficial Hellenization (or pure intercultural translation) of an image belonging to the Jewish lore that underlies both apocalyptic and Rabbinic sources.

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[304] As Niehoff, "Phoenix," 262 and 265.

[305] With the exception of probably interpolated fragment of 6:11–12 alluding to secondary and modified motifs of Hellenistic Phoenix.

As far as it is possible to trace the remote origins of these motifs of Jewish lore, it may be not only helpful to compare them with Persian[306] or Indian[307] images, but also – and especially – with local Near Eastern and specifically ancient Palestinian, including Israelite, traditions abundantly reflected in the iconography: the heavenly bird whose giant wings are spread protectively over the earth[308] and the wide spread image of the winged sun.[309] Winged solar disks and winged protective powers are found frequently in combination with solar images also in ancient Israelite and Phoenician iconography of the pre-exilic period.[310] Among other "protective creatures" linked to sun deities, some pre-exilic seals have "a falcon with spread wings on the lower part and a winged solar disk in the upper section."[311] The same image must be meant by "the sun of righteousness," which also has "wings" according to Mal 3:20.[312] This imagery, probably of Egyptian origin or influence, might have inspired the idea of a bird spreading its wings to protect the earth from the sun's rays. Moreover, some students of ancient astronomy attempt to connect the origin of these symbols, especially of the winged sun, with visual experiences of total solar eclipses with their "equatorial streamers of the solar corona stretching out on either side of a 'Black Sun.' The image bears a striking resemblance to the outspread wings of a glorious celestial bird."[313]

Below, the main elements of the description of Phoenix in *3 Baruch* are synoptically aligned with the most relevant parallels discussed both above and in the next chapters below (presented in the order of appearance; the parallels that are most probably dependant on *3 Baruch* are not adduced).

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306 As Broek, *Myth*, 267–68

307 As Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.48.

308 Keel, *Symbolism*, 26–27, pl. 19; Collart, Vicari, S*anctuaire*, pl. XCVII 1; CI 1; CV, 1.

309 Keel, 28; Mayer-Opificius, "Geflügelte," 189–236.

310 Keel, Uehlinger, *Gods*, 248–257. From the period of Hezekiah's reign alone, there are several hundred jars stamped with winged suns; see Keel, *Corpus*; Keel, "Sturmgott," 88; and Wolde, "Words."

311 Keel, Uehlinger, *Gods*, 251; Yadin et al., *Hazor*, pls. 67.13; 162.6; Crowfoot et al., *Objects*, 393 fig. 92.81.

312 Cf. also heaven and the spirit of God in the ornimorphic simile of Ben Zoma: "Between the upper and the nether waters there is but two or three fingerbreadths … for it is not written here, "and the spirit of God" blew, but "hovered" [Gen 1:1] like a bird flying and flapping with its wings, its wings barely touching [the nest over which it hovers] (*Gen. Rab.* 2.4).

313 Bhatnagar, Livingston, *Fundamentals*, 10–11. Cf. Maunder, *Astronomy*, 121–129; Suhr, *Mask*.

Position: "circling in front of the sun" (6:2).	"phoenixes and chalkydri … accompany and run with the sun" (*2 En.* 12:1).
Size: "about nine [cubits] away" *or* "like nine mountains" G / "like one great mountain" S (6:2).	"the Field Rooster, whose ankles rest on the ground and whose head reaches the sky" (*Tg.* Ps 50:11); cf. *b. B. Bat.* 93b.
Function: "the guardian of the inhabited world" (6:3).	–
Method: "goes before the sun, and stretching out its wings receives its fire-shaped rays"(6:5).	"when it spreads its wings, it darkens the orb of the sun'" (*Gen. Rab.* 19.4; cf. *Lev. Rab.* 22.10).
Reason: "if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature" (6:6).	"South wind is the hardest of all, and were it not that Ben Nez stays it with its wings, it would destroy the world" (*b. Git.* 31b; *b. B. Bat.* 25b).
"God appointed this bird" (6:6).	"Ziz of the fields is mine" [Ps 50:11] … "does Nez [= Ziz here] soar by your [God's] wisdom and stretch his wings toward the south?" [Job 39:26] … "Who does not know of all these, that the hand of God made this [ibid. 12:9]" (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10).
Inscription: "and I saw on its right wing very large letters, like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia. And the letters were of gold" (6:7).	–
Origin: "Neither earth nor heaven give me birth, but wings of fire give me birth" (6:8).	Multiple Greek and Roman sources; Rabbinic *Hol* (*Gen. Rab.* 19.5; etc.).
Name: Phoenix (Gk Φοῖνιξ; CS **ѳоуникѕь** LB **ѳиницъ** S **ѳоуницъ** N **поуница** Z **ѳиникосъ** PVID).	Multiple Greek and Roman sources; possibly implied in Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* (254–69).
Diet: "the manna of heaven and the dew of earth" (6:11).	Manna is "angels' food" (LXX Ps 78(77):25); *b. Yoma* 75b; cf. "Nobody ever saw the phoenix taking any food" (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.4).
Excrement: "It excretes a *worm*, and the excrement of the worm becomes to *cinnamon*, which kings and princes use" (6:12).	Worm larva (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.2 and *passim*). Nest of cinnamon (Ovid, *Met.* 15.385 and *passim*).
Greeting the sun: "flapped its wings and there was a sound like thunder, and the bird cried out saying, "O Light giver, give light to the world!" (6:14S; cf. "noise of the bird" in 6:15G).	"The Light giver is coming to give radiance to the whole world" (*2 En.* (J) 15:2); "the sound of the wings of the Seraphim" (*T. Adam* 1:10).

Additional function: "wakes up the roosters on earth" (6:16).	"at the sound of the wings of the Seraphim at that time the roosters crow and praise God" (*T. Adam* 1:10).
"and the birds seek me" (6:8S).	"It seemed to be the king of birds, for all the birds, as one, in fear did haste to follow after him" (Ezekiel the Tragedian, *Exagoge* 254–69).
Result: "because of restraining the rays of the sun, [and] because of the fire and of the whole day's burning it is humbled" (8:6).	–

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6:1. *And having taken me he brought me where the sun goes forth*. That is, Baruch travels to the east, exactly as Enoch also in the middle of his vision: "And those men [angels] carried me away to the east of heaven, and they showed me the solar gates through which the sun goes out" (*2 En.* [J and A] 13:1). Does it mean that Baruch began his tour in the west, similarly to *Apoc. Paul* 31 and in distinction to *T. Abr.* (A) 11:1, where "the first gate of heaven" is located in the east?[314] Hades, which was among Baruch's first visions, was thought to be located in the west (*1 En.* 1:5; 22:1; *Apoc. Paul* 31; *b. B. Bat.* 84a; Hebrew *Sefer Eliyahu*), as well as the Islands of the Blessed.[315] The connection of the abode of the dead with the west appears to have been a common motif in the ancient world.[316]

Baruch is taken back to the west again explicitly in 8:1. See Gilgamesh who also moves "along the route of the sun" towards the place where the sun rises (*Gilgamesh Epic* 9). Gates for luminaries in the eastern and western horizons appear in Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources (see comm. to 2:2 above).

6:2. *A chariot-of-four, which was with a fire underneath* (G) / *A chariot-of-four, and there were fiery horses, and the horses were winged angels* (S). Gk ὃ ἦν ὑπόπυρον is an emendation from ο ην υποπυρος of both mss. Gaylord convincingly suggests the original ἵππων πυρός rendered by CS **кони пламѣни** "fiery horses."[317] Both versions are corroborated by paral-

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[314] In fact the whole description of the *Testament of Abraham* must belong to a very different tradition, more similar to the one of Plato's "Myth of Er" (*Rep.* 10.614).

[315] Josephus, *Bell.* 2.155; cf. Homer, *Od.* 4.561–69; Hesiod, *Op.* 167–73; Pindar, *Ol.* 2.69–71; Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.26; and Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* 2.6–13.

[316] See Wacker, *Weltordnung*.

[317] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 67.

lels. Helios' chariot is drawn by "fire-darting steeds" (Pindar, *Ol.* 7.71) and chariots of fiery horses appear in 2 Kgs 2:11 and Sir 48:9. Fire underneath the Throne is found in *1 En.* 14:19; cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 18:3.

On the tradition of the image see introductory comm. to this chapter. Both versions agree below that "the chariot was drawn by forty angels." In addition to the chariot motifs discussed above, special angels appointed to serve or accompany the sun and other luminaries are known: "The fourth order [of angels], which is principalities. This is its service: the administration of the lights, of the sun and of the moon and of the stars" (*T. Adam* 4:4). Often they are four or four hundred; see comm. to "four angels" in 8:4.

A crown of fire (στέφανον πυρός / **вѣнець огньнъ**). This was a common royal symbol, in the Orient and in Hellenistic kingdoms,[318] as well as in the Roman empire since Caligula, whose crown featured solar symbolism. Philo attests: "He wears a crown adorned with rays, for the craftsman has managed to make a good copy of the rays of the sun" (*Leg.* 14.103).[319] Crowns and wreaths were also common attributes of idols as found in Jewish literature (Ep Jer 9; Acts 14:13; *y. Abod. Zar.* 3.42c, 43d) and were widely attested in non-Jewish sources. The many representations of Helios include a halo with seven rays. Mithras is frequently depicted crowning the Sun.[320] For the crowned sun among other solar imagery in Jewish iconography, see introductory comm. to this chapter. Crowns are also well known as Jewish royal and divine attributes since the Bible.[321] In Rabbinic sources, God's crowns could be made or held by his angels (*b. Hag.* 13b; *b. Ber.* 7a). Angels may also be adorned with crowns, sometimes fiery (*Jos. Asen.* 14:9; *2 En.* (A) 14:2 A; *Apoc. Zeph.* (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.11.17); *3 En.* 12:4; 16:2; 17:8; 18:23, 25; 21:4; *Seder Rabba diBereshit* 28–30 and *3 Hekh.* 161–163). See the twenty-four elders on celestial thrones with "crowns of gold" on their heads (Rev 4:4, 10) and the "crown of light" on the head of *Pistis Sophia* (*Pistis Sophia* 1.59; 2.66).

6:3. *This is the guardian of the inhabited world* (ὁ φύλαξ τῆς οἰκουμένης / **хранитель въселенѣи**). This is a unique attestation of the phoenix. In Egypt the sun god Ra was called "the guardian of the earth" (Egyptian *Book of the*

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318 Although in this meaning Gk διάδημα is more common than στέφανος.

319 Cf. Stephani, "Nimbus."

320 *MMM*, 1.172ff. See Notes to 7:3G.

321 As well as a regular festive attribute (Sir 32:1–2; *Jub.* 14:30; 3 Macc 7:16; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.9.1).

Dead 16; 28 [40; 46]),[322] while here it is on the contrary an epithet of the sun's moderator. The connection between the concepts of "protection" and "shadowing" may be rooted in an idiomatic use of the biblical Hebrew; see, e.g., Isa 18:1; 30:2, 3; 51:16; Ps 36:10; 57:2; and 61:3. "R. Yohanan said: He [God] is also a *protector of the whole world* [Heb מגין על כל העולם כולו], as it is written, 'with the shadow of my hand have I sheltered you' [Isa 51:16]" (*b. Sanh*. 99b).

6:6. *For if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature / For if it did not hide the rays of the sun, the race of men and every creature on earth would not survive because of the flames of the sun*. This is repeated with reference to 6:6 (ὡς προείπομενον) in 8:6–7. The sun is thought to be dangerous (Isa 49:10; Jonah 4:8; Ps. 19:7; 121:6; Sir 43:3, 4). Its heat is regulated by twelve openings on the sun's disk (*2 En.* 75:4). The need to screen it was widely known. In addition to giant birds discussed above, other diverse means were known:

(1) *Cool air*:

> When God extended the sun's rays from heaven to the boundaries of earth, He mitigated and abated with cool air the fierceness of their heat. He tempered them in this way, that the radiance drawn off from the blazing flame, surrendering its power of burning but retaining that of giving light, might meet and hail its friend and kinsman, the light which is stored in the treasury of our eyes. (Philo, *Quod Deus* 17.79)

(2) *Hail* stored in heaven: "Sun faces the top of hail. And were it not for the hail, which extinguishes the fire, the world would have been burned by fire; as it is said: 'Nothing is hidden from its heat' [Ps 19:7]" (*Pirqe R. El.* 6).

(3) *Sheath*[323] and *water*:

> The sun orb has a sheath [נרתיק], as it is said, "He placed in them a tent for the sun" [Ps 19:5] and a lake of water [בריכה של מים] before it. When it goes forth, God weakens its strength in the water, lest it burn the world. But in the future God will take it from its sheath and burn with it all the wicked, as it is said, "The day that is coming will burn them" [Mal 3:19 (4:1)]. (*Gen. Rab*. 6.6; cf. *Pesiq. R*. 29; *Tan. B*. Tetsaveh; *Midr. Pss*. 19.3)

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[322] For another possible parallel with the *Book of the Dead* see comm. to 6:8; cf. also *T. Abr* 12:9.

[323] Special receptacle or cover – Heb נרתיק from Gk νάρτηξ or ναρθηκίον.

(4) *Firmament(s)*: God did not place the sun in the lower firmament, because it had been close to earth, all would have been consumed by its heat (*Pesiq. R.* 29 and *Midr. Pss.* 19.13; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 6.6).

(5) *Angels*: Four angels are before the sun, "so that it will not burn the world" (*Eccl. Zut.* 1; *Yal.* Eccl 967, cited in the introductory comm. above). This may go back to the Ziz/Phoenix motif.

There were also some ethical developments of these ecological motifs. Luminaries testify against humans regarding their sins (*1 En.* 100:10; *Pss. Sol.* 2:13–14 [11–12]; 8:8; cf. Num 25:4; 2 Sam 12:11–12; cf. heaven and earth as the witnesses of the covenant in Deut 4:26; 30:19; 32:1). The very position of the celestial charioteer enables the sun to observe all abundance of the earthly wickedness (as *Helios Panoptes* does; cf., e.g., Homer, *Od.* 8.300ff; 11.102ff; Aeschylus, *Prom.* 88ff; etc.; cf. "Pardon, O Phoebus, if any unlawful sight thine eyes have seen" in Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 592ff) and even to be defiled by it (as in *3 Bar.* 8:4–5). This may tempt the sun to destroy the lower world. The sun's heat is in fact destined to consume the wicked at the end of days, when its light "will become sevenfold" (Isa 30:26); see *Gen. Rab.* 6.6 and par. above. The sun and then other luminaries and waters ask to destroy humankind whose transgressions they have to observe:

> The sun, the great light, often appealed to the Lord, saying, "O Lord God Almighty, I look on the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. Suffer me, and I will do to them according to my power, that they may know that you are God alone." (*Apoc. Paul* 4)

The same urge was expected from another heavenly charioteer:

> A voice came from heaven to the commander-in-chief, saying thus, "O commander-in-chief Michael, command the chariot to stop, and turn Abraham away that he may not see all the inhabited world, for if he behold all that live in wickedness, he will destroy all creation." (*T. Abr.* (A) 10:12–14)[324]

In this case, the sun and Phoenix represent a dialectic balance not only of physical forces but also of heavenly judgment. A similar balance of opposite powers must be meant in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where Yahoel is responsible for reconciling "the rivalries of the Living Creatures of the Cherubim against one another" (10:9). See Job 25:2 which mentions celestial balance adjacent to the all penetrating light: "He imposes peace in his heights. Can his troops be numbered? On whom does his light not shine?"

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[324] Harlow, *Baruch*, 132.

6:7. *Wings*. Sun could also be thought to have wings: "And the sun of righteousness will rise for you, who fear my name, with healing in its wings" (Mal. 3:20 [4:2]). On the possible connection between winged sun-disks, the image of the Sun Bird and ornithomorphic character of a "winged sun" during the total eclipse, see introductory comm. above.

The letters were of gold / Those letters were purer than gold. Paul finds golden letters on the celestial gate of gold with "two pillars of gold full of golden letters" with names of the righteous (*Apoc. Paul* 19; cf. Ethiopic *5 Baruch*). Three letters of God's name are written on the sun's heart (*Pirqe R. El.* 6; cf. *Baraita Maase Bereshit* 50). "Laws" written in letters of gold are mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* 12.2.11).

4,000 modia (μοδίων τετρακισχιλίων). This is a Roman (Lat *modius*) and late Greek dry measure. It is also a measure of length equal to 200 ὀργυιαί, with ὄργυια a Greek fathom equal to the length of the outstretched arms (appr. six feet or 182 cm). Here it appears to be used as a surface measure. The height of the Tower of Babel (3:6) and the sea drunk by the Serpent (4:6G; 4:3S) are measured in cubits. According to *2 En.* 12:2 the size of "phoenixes and chalkydri" is 900 "measures" (CS ⲙⲏⲣⲁ).

6:8. *Neither earth nor heaven give me birth*. Dean-Otting views this as a riddle-like formula, which may resemble the earlier description of Serpent-Hades.[325] See heaven (i.e., the goddess Nut) that gives birth to the sun (*Book of the Dead* 79).

6:11. *The manna of heaven and the dew of earth / heavenly manna*. This is one of the unambiguously Jewish elements in the description of Phoenix in *3 Baruch*. Manna and dew are adduced together in Exod 16:13–14 and especially in Num 11:9: "When the dew came down on the camp at night, the manna came down with it." According to LXX Ps 78(77):25, manna is "angels' food" (Gk ἄρτον ἀγγέλων; in Hebrew לחם אבירים "bread of the mighty"). R. Akiba also interprets thus in *b. Yoma* 75b (לחם אבירים אכל איש לחם שמלאכי השרת אוכלין אותו); cf. *Tan. B.* 2.67; *Midr. Pss.* 78.345. *Sib. Or.* 7:148–149 says (probably arguing with *1 En.* 10:18–19) that "dewy manna" would be the food of the members of the messianic kingdom: "there will be no vine branches or ear of corn, but all at once will eat the dewy manna with white teeth." The same in *2 Baruch*:

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[325] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 129.

> And those who have hungered shall rejoice: moreover, also, they shall behold marvels every day. For winds shall go forth from before me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health. And it shall come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time. (29:6–8)

According to *b. Hag.* 12b the dew and the manna are stored in adjacent heavens: manna in the third (named *Shehaqim*) and dew in the sixth (*Makhon*). Compare this with the "hidden manna" which is to be given to the penitent in Rev 2:17. The origin of the "dew of heaven" (most probably distinct from the dew of earth) from the celestial lake is explained in 10:9G (see comm. ibid). In *2 En.* 12:2 "phoenixes and chalkydri" bring heat and dew (see introductory comm. above).

6:12. *Wait and you will see the Glory of God.* Compare with 7:2; 11:2; 16:4S. See comm. to 4:2S.

Sunrise and Predawn Call (6:13–16)

Greek	Slavonic
13 And while he was talking,	13 And while we were singing,
there was a thunder like a sound of thunder,	there was a great sound, like [bellowing] of 30 oxen,
and the place where we were standing was shaken.	and the place where we were standing shook.
And I asked the angel, "My Lord, what is this sound?" And the angel told me, "The angels are now opening the 365 gates of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness."	And I Baruch said, "What is this sound, my Lord?" And he told me, "The angels are opening the 65 doors of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness."
	14 And the sun entered [the chariot?],
14 And a voice came saying, "O Light giver, give light to the world!"	and the bird came saying, "O Light giver, the sun, give light to the world,"
	[and] spread its wings and covered the rays of the sun and it flapped its wings and there was a sound like thunder, and the bird cried out saying, "O Light giver, give light to the world!"
15 And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said, "Lord, what is this noise?"	15 When I heard the sound of the bird, I said, "What is that sound?"

16 And he said, "This is what wakes up the roosters on earth.

For as [others do] through the mouth, so also the rooster signifies to those in the world, in its own speech. For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the rooster crows."

16 And he said, "This is to wake up the roosters which are on earth in peace.

When they hear the first sound they say that the sun is rising, and the roosters cry out."

NOTES

6:14. *Voice*. Here and in some other instances in translation both "sound" and "voice" stand for the same Greek and Slavonic words: Gk φωνή and CS **глаєъ** (cf., e.g., 11:3 and 5).

6:14S. Also possible: "and it ["voice" as in or even "sun"] came saying, 'O Light giver, the sun, give light to the world!' The bird spread its wings …" (cf. comm. ad loc.). Verse 6:14b has been omitted by G probably due to homoeoteleuton.

6:16G. *And the rooster crows*. καὶ φωνεῖ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ. Lit. "produces a sound." The verb is used with roosters also in Matt 26:34.

COMMENTARY

The sunrise is the first of the solar functions shown to Baruch. In this context, he learns about the 365 gates of heaven which serve the sun's motions (which must imply a rotating celestial sphere). He also learns about the predawn sounds, which explain the awakening of roosters on earth before the dawn. The unique motif of the daily separation of the light from the darkness must imply the idea of *creatio aeterna*.

6:13S. *While we were singing*. This reading only occurs in ms L. No singing is mentioned before. Gaylord suggests that ms L had a corruption of CS **стоıаıııа** "standing" to **поıѫıııа** "singing," based upon ms B, containing the former, and family β with a possible conflation: "standing and singing."[326] However, this *lectio difficilior* has intertextual corroboration. Singing, which was part of the Temple service, is a well known element of the celestial service in many apocalyptic descriptions (*1 En.* 40; *2 En.* 7–9; 17; *Apoc. Abr.* 18; *Apoc. Zeph.* 8; *Asc. Isa.* 7–9; *T. Levi* 3; cf. the Qumranic *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Hekhalot literature, *passim*). Celestial choirs are

326 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 81.

mentioned in 10:5 below (for the parallels see ibid.). A song of a visionary taught by an angel could be a central element of a vision (*Apoc. Abr.* 17). It may take place particularly before the sunrise. The angel Yahoel "teaches those who bear him [i.e., Cherubim and Living Creatures] the Song in the middle of man's night, at the *seventh hour*" (*Apoc. Abr.* 10:9), i.e., immediately after midnight. Similarly, the sun "stands *seven great hours* of night, and spends half its course under the earth" and then "comes to the eastern approach at the *eighth hour* of the night, it brings its lights, and the crown of shining, and the sun flames forth more than fire" (*2 En.* (J) 14:3). According to the horarium of *Testament of Adam* the angelic praise takes place even closer to the sunrise, at the *ninth hour* of the night (although the Armenian horarium has also the *seventh hour* instead),[327] and precedes the events described in our chapter:

> And at the ninth hour the angels perform their service of homage to God, and the prayer of the children of men comes into the presence of God the Most High. And at the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and God hears the prayer of the children of the believers, and the petition which they ask from God is granted unto them. And at the sound of the wings of the Seraphim at that time the roosters crow and praise God. And at the eleventh hour there is joy and gladness on all the earth, for the sun enters into the Garden, and its light rises in all the ends of the world, and illumines every created thing. (*T. Adam* 1:9–10)

For angels singing or praising at night see also *b. Hag.* 12b; *Abod. Zar.* 3b; cf. Luke 2:8–14.

6:13G. *A thunder like a sound of thunder / a great sound, like [bellowing] of 30 oxen* (βροντὴ ὡς ἦχος βροντῆς / **глас великъ іако воловъ :ƛ:**). A combination ἦχος βροντῆς for Heb קול הרעם "sound of thunder" appears in Sim. Ps 77:19(18) (cf. Eusebius on Ps 77:18; while LXX, Aq. and Theod. have φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς; cf. Ps 104:7) and in *T. Abr.* 17:15 (among other terrible things "shown" to Abraham by Death).

Gk ἦχος may mean also "voice" or "echo," while Heb קול rendered by it may mean "sound," and "voice" as well as "thunder." The voice of the Babylonian weather god Adad is described as an "echo from heaven" in Greek sources.[328] See φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ "a voice from heaven" in Matt 3:17; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22; and John 12:28. Rabbinic Heb בת קול "echo," serves also as a term for the divine voice from heaven (e.g., *b. Yoma* 9b and *passim*).

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[327] Stone, *Armenian*, 65.

[328] Noticed by Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 111, who refers to Bezold, Boll, "Reflexe," 20–21.

S has instead "a great sound, like [bellowing] of 30 oxen." See "and there was a thunder, like [bellowing] of 40 oxen" in 13:1S below. Only S measures volume in "oxen." G uses this unit to measure only dimensions: "a crane [as large] as great oxen" (10:3G).

Can the "sound of thunder" here be God's voice (cf. *b. Hul.* 59b telling of its great strength)? Possibly so. However, special celestial noises are mentioned in *3 Baruch* on the following occasions:

1) When angels opened 365 gates of heaven and the light was separated from the darkness: "there was a thunder like a sound of thunder, and the place where we were standing was shaken" (6:13G), "there was a great sound, like [bellowing] of 30 oxen, and the place where we were standing shook" (6:13S).
2) According to S, when the sun entered [the chariot?], Phoenix after a greeting formula "spread its wings and covered the rays of the sun and flapped its wings and there was a sound like thunder" (6:14S). This sound also "wakes up the roosters on earth" (6:16). According to G, this is not a thunder, but "noise of the bird" (κτύπος τοῦ ὀρνέου; 6:15G), and it is not clear whether the Phoenix's voice or anything else is meant.
3) When Michael came down to receive the virtues/prayers of men "there was a great sound like thunder" (11:3G), or "there was a sound from the highest heaven like a threefold thunder" (11:3S). S may render Gk τρισμὸς ὡς βροντῆς "shriek like thunder" as in 11:5G, understood as ὡς τρὶς βροντῆς.[329] Alternatively the *qedusha/trisagion* may be implied (see comm. ibid.).
4) When the gates of the fifth heaven opened, "there was a shriek like thunder" (11:5G), "there was a great sound, greater than the first" (11:5S).
5) When Michael left for a higher heaven and the gates of the fifth heaven closed, "there was a sound like thunder" (14:1G) or "there was a thunder, like [bellowing] of 40 oxen" (14:1S). The angel explains that this sound designates that in this moment "Michael is presenting the virtues ["prayers" S] of men to God" (14:2).

See also in S: "clouds of thunders and hail" (or "a thunder of a cloud") (16:3S); "when a king rises to a war, another strikes, and there is a great sound [or 'tumult']" (6:12S).

In cases 1 and 3 the "voice" follows the thunder (cf. also "voice from heaven" in 17:1S); in case 1 it is also accompanied with shaking of the ground. Dean-Otting notices that these three elements "can be the evidence

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[329] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 121.

of nothing less than revelation of Deity; there are many Biblical parallels for these phenomena found in the context of a theophany;" see, for example, Exod 19:16–19; Isa 29:6; Ps 18:6–16; Ps 29:3–4; Ps 77:18; Job 37:2–5; Rev 16:18; and *Apoc. Abr.* 8:6.[330] However, there is no direct theophany in *3 Baruch*, and the sounds must be caused by secondary celestial factors:

The noise in case 1 must be of solar origin: the sun is known to make an extraordinary noise while grating against its wheel: "You may think that it glides in heaven, but it is not so, being rather like a saw which saws through wood" (*Gen. Rab.* 6.7; cf. *b. Yoma* 20b–21a; *Cant. Rab.* 5.9; *Pirqe R. El.* 34; *Eccl. Zut.* 86; *Midr. Sam.* 9.74; cf. the noise of the Wheels in *3 En.* 19:5–7). See the sound of rotating spheres (Plato, *Rep.* 10.617; Aristotle, *Cael.* 2.290. It is also "so loud that men's ears cannot take it in" (Cicero, *Resp.* 6.18 ["Scipio's Dream"]). Heb בת קול may also sometimes mean a sort of music of spheres (as in *Exod. Rab.* 29.9).

The noise in case 2 is caused by the Bird. S, which attributes the origin of the noise to the clapping of the Bird's wings, must have the authentic version, as is well confirmed by parallels. Angels are known to praise God by clapping their wings, a motif based on Ezek 1:24 (cf. LXX ad loc. translating "their wings were singing" instead of "… straight") and 3:12–13; 24–25 (cf. expansion in *Targums*) and is developed in Hekhalot literature.[331] Roosters crow when Seraphim clap their wings (*T. Adam* 1:10).[332]

The noises 3–5 may be caused by opening and closing celestial gates: the ascent through a heavenly door is also accompanied by thunder in Rev 4:1.

6:13. *Place where we were standing was shaken* (καὶ ἐσαλεύθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἱστάμεθα / **и потрасе са же мѣсто идеже стоаховѣ**). Revelatory experiences are often accompanied by such phenomena: "the place where you are standing is greatly shaken" (*4 Ezra* 6:13); "while he [God] spoke to me, behold, little by little, the place where I was standing began to rock to and fro" (*4 Ezra* 6:29); "the place of elevation on which we both stood sometimes was on high, sometimes rolled down" (*Apoc. Abr.* 17:3). See also Acts 4:31 and Rev 16:18.

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330 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 110–114. See there also on Mesopotamian roots of the connection between the voice of a deity and thunder.

331 Halperin, *Faces*, 52ff.

332 Unbearable noise was caused by the wings of Gabriel, who according to Jerome (on Isa 10:3) referring to Jewish lore is called *Hamon* "noise."

365 gates of heaven / 65 doors of heaven. On celestial and inter-celestial gates in general see comm. to 2:2 above. Their main function must be to enable the travel of luminaries under the firmament.[333] The sun enters through the gate in Ps 19; cf. "outgoings of mourning" in Ps 65:8 (as in *3 Bar.* 6:13). Ancient and common Near Eastern beliefs underlie this conception. Both in Egypt and Mesopotamia people believed that luminaries needed gates to enter the sky. Doors for luminaries in eastern and western horizons appear in both Egyptian sources (e.g., Coffin Text 696; cf. "doors of the horizon" in Pyramid Text 246),[334] and Mesopotamian ones (e.g., "great gates on both sides" opened by Marduk in *Enuma Elish* 5; Shamash opening "the portals of the sky" at his rising;[335] Akkadian cylinder seal BM 89110).[336] See "the gates of the sun" of Homer (*Od.* 24.12). Such gates are known to other apocalypses as well: "And they showed me the calculation of the movement of the sun, and the gates through which it goes in and out. Since these are the great gates which God created to be an annual horologe" (*2 En.* 15:3).

Ms B has "50 doors of [or "and"?] five heavens." Karpov, relying upon the evidence of Origen concerning the treatment of seven heavens in the *Book of Baruch* (see below introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*), supposes that this reading may go back to the original "50 doors of seven heavens," i.e., 50x7, according to 350 days of a Pentecontad calendar including seven periods of 50 days.[337]

However, it is more probable that G here has the original version. The solar year of 365 days (based on the addition of five epagomenal days to the ancient solar year consisting of twelve months of thirty days each) was known already in early Babylon and Egypt.[338] Greeks knew it at least since Thales (Diogenes Laertius 1.27) and it was part of the official Roman calendar from the time of Caesar. It is mentioned in early Jewish sources (e.g., Philo, *Quaest. Gen* 1.84) and referred to by Gnostics: 365,000 years in the world are a single year in the realm of light, while one day in the realm of light is a 1000 years in the world (*Pistis Sophia* 99); see the five great arch-

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333 Another function, to receive the virtues/prayers of men in mentioned in 11:5 below (cf. *T. Adam* 1:10).

334 Faulkner, *Coffin*, 2.261; idem, *Pyramid*, 1.59, 6; 1.281, #667; Brovarski, "Doors," 107–10; Keel, *Symbolism*, 24; Wright, *Heaven*, 19–20.

335 Frankfort, *Cylinder*, 58; Wright, *Heaven*, 34.

336 Keel, *Symbolism*, 23. Cf. Heimpel, "Sun," 132–40; Frankfort, *Cylinder*, pt. 18a; Wright, *Heaven*, 33–34.

337 Karpov, "O kalendare;" cf. Morgenstern, "Calendar."

338 Samuel, *Ptolemaic*, 76.

ons in charge of 360 other archons (ibid. 136; 139) and the 365 angels of Nag Hammadi *Apocryphon of John* 11:25; 19:3. "365 days of the sun" (שס"ה ימות החמה) were well known to Rabbis (*t. Nazir* 1.3; *Sifra* Behar 4; *Lev. Rab.* 5.1; *b. Ar.* 9b; etc.). The solar year of *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and Qumran has 364 days (*1 En.* 72–75; 82:11; *Jub.* 6:32; cf., e.g., 11Q Ps (11Q 5) 27.6–7; 4Q540 1.2).

Not only the full solar year, but even the same number of heavenly openings is known to Rabbis: "The Holy One created 365 windows for the world to use: 182 in the east, 182 in the west, and one in the middle of the firmament, from where [the sun] went out in the beginning of the Creation" (שלש מאות וששים וחמש חלונות ברא בקה"ה שישתמש בהן העולם מאה ושמונים ושתים במזרח ומאה ושמונים ושתים במערב ואחת באמצעו של רקיע שממנו יצא מתחילת מעשה בראשית; *y. Rosh. HaSh.* 2.58a). *Pirqe R. El.* 5 explicitly links the number of the gates and the length of the solar year, stating that in the firmament there are "366 windows, through which it [the sun] emerges and retires" (ובשס"ו החלונות יוצא ונכנס) "according to 366 days of the solar year" (כנגד שס"ו ימות שנת החמה).[339]

Why would the sun need a separate gate for every day? The rationale of 365 gates will become clear when we consider that the points of the sunrise and the sunset are constant only from the human point of view and only in relation to the earth. In the heavenly sphere these points, circulating around the static earth, would differ every day. This was a conception of "the learned of the nations" as defined in the following Baraita:

> The learned of Israel say, "The sphere stands firm, and the zodiacs revolve." The learned of the nations say, "The sphere revolves, and the zodiacs stand firm" [חכמי ישראל אומרים גלגל קבוע ומזלות חוזרין וחכמי אומות העולם אומרים גלגל חוזר ומזלות קבועין]. (*b. Pesah.* 94b)[340]

So Plato (*Rep.* 10; *Tim.* 38c–e) and Aristotle (e.g., *Cael.* 2.8 [289b–290b]). Moreover, the rotation of *3 Baruch*'s heaven may be deduced from the statement that the stars are fixed to heaven (9:8; see comm. ibid.), while their motion relative to earth is obvious. This conception also accounts for

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339 Cf. the sun likened to a ship with 365 ropes (solar year) and to a ship with 354 ropes (lunar year; *Midr. Pss.* 19.3); cf. *Eccl. Zut.* 1; *Yal.* Eccl 967. Biblical Enoch is taken to heaven on his 365th birthday (Gen 5:21–24).

340 In the continuation of this passage, R. Judah the Patriarch objects to the latter view: "We have never found the Bull in the south nor the Scorpion in the north, and were it as the learned of the nations declare, the position of the constellations would constantly change" (*b. Pesah.* 94b).

the change in the sun's position relative to the stars. Thus, 365 gates must be located along the moving circle of the horizon.

Wright supposed that "although the text does not mention it, there are presumably 365 corresponding gates on the western horizon through which the sun exits each evening."[341] There is no need for such a presumption since, according to the reconstruction above, all gates are distributed evenly around the horizon, and thus all gates in turn serve both purposes. In distinction to the Enochic system of six or twelve gates, defined by Wright as "more economical and sophisticated" than the "rather amateurish" system of *3 Baruch*,[342] the system of *3 Baruch* better harmonizes the daily motion of the stars with the constant location of sunrise and sunset.[343]

It is still unclear why all the gates must be opened every day. This prompted Gaylord to suggest that "the sun passes through all 365 gates every day."[344] This would have been plausible if there were 365 firmaments.

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341 Wright, *Heaven*, 168. Compare this idea with *y. Rosh HaSh.* 2.58a cited above.

342 Ibid.

343 The astronomy of 360 solar gates (of which, as in *y. Rosh. HaSh.* 2.58a and par. above, 180 are in the east and 180 on the west) combined with the conception of the fixed stars (as in *3 Bar.* 9:8) and 365 days of the year, is elaborated in detail in *Bundahishn 5* B, probably based on early Babylonian astrology: "… For there are 180 windows [*rōzan*] in the East and 180 in the West, (put) in Harburz. Every day the Sun comes in through one window and goes out by one window. The *bond*s and the movement of the Moon and the fixed stars and planets are all to it. Every day it shines on three and a half continents (at any one time). As is obvious to the eye, twice each year day and night are equal, for at the Primordial Battle, when (the Sun) went forth from the first asterism of the Lamb, day and night were equal, at the time of spring; and afterwards, when it reaches the first asterism of the Crab, the days (are) longest, at the beginning of summer; when it reaches the (first) asterism of the Balance, day and night (are) equal, at the beginning of fall; when it reaches the first asterism of the Goat, the nights (are) greatest, at the beginning of winter; when it reaches the Lamb anew, day and night are again equal. As, from when it goes forth from the Lamb until it reaches the Lamb again, in 360 days and those five intercalary days, it comes in and goes out through the same windows. The (exact) window is not stated (here), for if it had been stated, the demons would have known the secret and could planned (their) damage …" (*5* B.3–6). I thank Dan Shapira for this new translation with comments, and Reuven Kuperwasser for the reference. See also MacKenzie ("Zoroastrian," 517–18) and the scheme of the revolution of the sun on p. 519 ibid. The cosmology of *Bundahishn* shares also other, more or less universal, motifs with *3 Baruch* (celestial dragon, celelstial demons, sun chariot, etc.).

344 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 81.

See Basilides' teaching about 365 heavens and their archon Abrasax (Gk Ἀβρασάξ; the numerical value of this name also is 365; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.3–7; cf. 11.16.2 and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.26.6).[345]

The light is being separated from the darkness. This light here is called φῶς, while the sun's light in the next verse (as well as in 7:2 below) – φέγγος (although the sun is called φωτοδότης.) Here it is definitely not the sunlight, but a primordial upper light, by which God illuminated all that he created even before the luminaries had been made (Aristobulus, *Fragment* 3; *4 Ezra* 6:40; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.27.2; *2 En.* (J) 25:3; *Gen. Rab.* 3.6; 11.2; *b. Hag.* 12a; *Pirqe R. El.* 3). Some of these sources are based on Isa 30:26 and Isa 60:19, 20 mentioning Heb אור עולם "eternal light." The luminaries receive a spark from this much stronger light (*Tan. B.* Behaalotekha 10) and they even need it to see their routes (*Midr. Pss.* 19).

In Gen 1:4 God already "separated the light from the darkness" on the first day of creation, while in *3 Baruch* the light and darkness are separated on a daily basis. The idea of the everlasting or continuous creation, i.e., an ontological dependence of the cosmos on God, may be implied; see "[God] renews every day the work of creation" (*b. Hag.* 12b; cf. *Midr. Pss.* 96.1; etc.). The concept of *creatio aeterna* or *creatio continua* might also be implied by Philo in his treatment of the non-temporal character of the creation (*Opif.* 7.26–28).[346] Alternatively, the regular mechanism of introducing the boundaries between the two may be meant, as in Philo's *Opif.* 9.33–34:

> God, in his perfect knowledge of their [i.e., of the light and the darkness] mutual contrariety and natural conflict, parted them one from another by a wall of separation. In order, therefore, to keep them from the discord arising from perpetual clash … he not only separated light and darkness, but also placed in the intervening spaces boundary-marks, by which he held back each of their extremities … These barriers are evening and dawn. The latter gently restraining the darkness, anticipates the sunrise with the glad tidings of its approach; while evening, supervening upon sunset, gives a gentle welcome to the oncoming mass of darkness.

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345 Przybylski, "Role."

346 See Winston (*Philo*, 13–21) and Sterling ("Creatio," 21–41) on *creatio aeterna* in Philo. Cf. alternative views of Wolfson on Philo holding to *creatio ex nihilo (Philo*, 1.295–324) and of Runia on *creatio continua (Philo and the Timaeus,* 96–103, 140–57, 215–22, 280–83, 287–91,416–20,426–33, 451–56, 505–19). See the summary of the debate in Sterling, "Creatio."

In *3 Baruch* the procedure of the separation is not explained. The separation of the light from the darkness by means of water is described in *2 En.* (J) 27:3–4. Animated darkness – "Prince of Darkeners similar to the bull" – was banished, because God wanted "to create the world in the light" (בשעה שברא הקב"ה את עולמו אמר לו לשר החושך סור מלפני מפני שאני מבקש את העולם לבראות באורה ושרו של חושך דומה לשור; *Pesiq. R.* 20). The separation of the light from the darkness is the main concern of the Nag Hammadi *Paraph. Shem* 40. See the following fragment, which is even structurally similar to *3 Baruch*:

Paraphrase of Shem	*3 Baruch*
and at that time the Light was about to separate from the Darkness. And a voice was heard in the world, saying, "Blessed is the eye which has seen you, and the mind which has supported your majesty at my desire."	and the light is being separated from the darkness." And a voice came saying, "O Light giver, give light to the world!"

Personified Darkness of the *Paraphrase of Shem* is connected to Hades. Personified and zoomorphic "outer darkness" is identified with the "great dragon" in *Pistis Sophia* (3.126). In *3 Baruch* Hades is defined as "dark and impure" (4:3) and located in a lower heaven (first or second; see comm. to ch. 11). At the same time, the sun is the "light giver," explicitly concerned with purity (8:4–5) and according to 7:2 passes through the third heaven.[347] It is not clear how this separation between light and darkness relates to the opposition between "dark and impure" Serpent-Hades, located on the lower heaven, and light and other pure images of the higher heavens. Such a distribution is known to *T. Levi* 3 with its dark lowest heaven (cf. comm. to 3:5: *Heaven as abode of demons*). It is dark because "it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men" (*T. Levi* 3:1), while the sun is defiled exactly for the same reason: "because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men" (*3 Bar.* 8:5). This is reminiscent of the dichotomy between sublunary chaotic and superlunary cosmic heavenly spheres in the Greek cosmology (see introductory comm. to ch. 10).

The fact of the daily separation of the light, reported exclusively by *3 Baruch*, clarifies a verse of the celestial song of Abraham, speaking about the light kindled "before the morning light:"

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347 The lake of ch. 10 may also have some implicit purificational functions and its birds are called "pure" in 10:5S; see comm. ibid.

> You make the light shine before the morning light upon your creation [тъ (S ты al.) свѣтъ сиꙗеш ѡ| предъ оутрьнимъ (SU вноутренимъ al.) свѣтомъ на тварь свою] from your face in order to bring the day on the earth [дневати на земли]. And in your heavenly dwellings there is an inexhaustible other light of an inexpressible splendor from the lights of your face. (*Apoc. Abr.* 17:18–19)[348]

See the retroverted text: המאיר אור עד אור הבוקר על יצירך מלפניך להביא יום על פני הארץ: ובמשכנות מרומיך שפעת אור אחר מזיו נגהות פניך.[349] In the Rabbinic Hebrew יום "day" means also "the sun" (*b. Shab.* 134a; *b. Hul.* 60a; *b. Ket.* 106a; etc.).[350] Thus, the sequence of events in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is identical to *3 Baruch*, first the "light" is made to shine, and then the sun (or its light) is brought on earth.

6:14. *O Light giver, give light to the world* (φωτόδοτα δὸς τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ φέγγος / свѣтодавьче даи мнроу свѣтъ). In *2 En.* (J) 15:2 phoenixes and chalkydri sing: "The Light giver is coming to give radiance to the whole world." The same formula in similar circumstances is recited by the Rooster of the Slavonic *About all Creation* (cited in the introductory comm. to ch. 6: *Sun Bird*).

The sun is called "light giver" also in the so-called *Mithras Liturgy* (PMG IV.585; cf. I.596). Here also the sun must be meant, although Justin uses the same epithet for God: "the author of all his own forces and works, the *giver of light* in heaven, and father of all, the mind and vital power of the whole world, the mover of all things" (*2 Apol.* 6).

In S the motto is recited twice, either by the Bird itself or, according to an alternative interpretation of the text (see Notes), the Bird repeats what it has heard (from God's or the angelic "voice" of G). G also may imply that the words are pronounced by the Bird, if one understands "the noise of the bird" in 6:15 as referring to "a voice" of 6:14. In any case, it is not clear whether this call is a petition or an order to the sun. The latter would be

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348 CS сиꙗти свѣтъ must reproduce Gk φαίνω φῶς and Heb האיר אור, both well attested (cf., e.g., MT and LXX in Ezek 32:7); cf. also Gk ἀνατέλλει translated as сиꙗѥтъ in Slavonic versions of Matt 5:45 (e.g., *Ostr*). For an interpretation and Hebrew retroversion of the verse, see Kulik, *Retroverting*, 78.

349 Ibid.

350 CS дневати на земли (with *hapax legomenon* translated here as "[in order] to bring the day") may be explained by *infinitivus finalis* in Hebrew. Cf. להאיר על הארץ "in order to bring light upon the earth" (Gen 1:15). The infinitive of purpose used alone (i.e., without ὑνα, ὡς, etc.) is attested also in Jewish Greek texts; cf. Moulton et al., *Grammar*, 3.134–135.

more probable, if Phoenix-Ziz were an angelic patron of the sun (on this see introductory comm. to ch. 4: *Celestial Bestiary*).

6:16. *This is what wakes up the roosters on earth / This is to wake up the roosters which are on earth in peace*. The Rooster as a celestial singer foreseeing the down and wakening men was known to Iranian mythology (e.g., *Avesta*, Vendidad 18).[351] Greeks knew it as a bird of the deity of light, announcing the coming of the morning (Theognis 863f.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.46). As the bird of light, it also was an attribute of Christ (Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon* 1). The rooster's image was among the most popular in pre-exilic Jewish iconography.[352] One of the gigantic birds of Jewish lore is known as the Field Rooster (תרנגול ברא of *Tg.* Ps 50:11 and par.) to Rabbis and as Rooster (коуръ) in Slavonic *About All Creation*.

The wakening of earthly roosters by a cosmic Rooster is also found in *About All Creation*:

> There is a Rooster that has a head up to heaven, and the sea is up to its knees.[353] When the sun bathes in the Ocean, then the Ocean surges and waves start to beat the Rooster's feathers. And having felt the waves it says, "Kukoreku," which means, "Light giver, give light to the world." When it sings, then all the roosters sing at the same hour in the whole inhabited world.[354]

In *T. Adam* 1:10 Seraphim are those who, by beating their wings, cause the roosters to crow: "[at the tenth hour of the night] at the sound of the wings of the Seraphim at that time the roosters crow and praise God."[355] Rooster foresees the day in the morning benediction of *b. Ber.* 60b (based on Job 38:36). Late mystical tradition tells of a heavenly fire wakening the rooster and causing him to praise God and wake others to do it (*Zohar* Lev 3.22b; 23a; 49b).

The motif of the Bird causing the sun to rise and the earthly roosters to crow in response might have a textual basis in the verse "it will rise at the voice of the bird" from Eccl 12:4:

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351 It must be connected to light and fire also in earlier Mesopotamian traditions; see Ehrenberg, "Rooster."

352 See, e.g., Sass, "Pre-Exilic." In *3 Baruch*, the rooster is not a rain-bringer, in distinction of some other traditions; cf. Keel, "Zwei" and Delcor, "Nature."

353 Cf. "a bird standing up to its ankles in the water while its head reached the sky" (*B. Bat.* 73b).

354 Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki*, 2.349.

355 Ms E (British Museum ms Arund Oz 53) has "wheels" instead of "wings"; cf. *3 En.* 19:5–7 on the noise of Wheels; on the music of spheres see comm. to 6:13 above.

And the doors to the streets will be shut,	וסגרו דלתים בשוק
when the sound of the grinding becomes low,	בשפל קול הטחנה
and it will rise at the voice of the bird,	ויקום לקול הצפור
and all the daughters of singing will bow down [or "will be brought low"].	וישחו כל־בנות השיר

Here, the celestial gate is closed behind the sun going forth to its route ("the doors to the streets will be shut"), the noises of the rotating solar wheel come down ("when the sound of the grinding becomes low"),[356] the sun rises at the voice of the Sun Bird ("it will rise at the voice of the bird"), and the lower earthly birds greet it ("all the daughters of singing will bow down"). See also "a bird of the air shall carry the voice" (Eccl 10:20).

6:16G. *For as others do through the mouth, so also the rooster* (ὡς γὰρ τὰ δίστομα οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ). In Greek, this reading only occurs in ms A, which is obscure and possibly corrupt: lit. "For as double-mouthed [do?], so also the rooster." James suggests: "For as articulate-speaking beings do, so do the roosters."[357] However, Gk δίστομος is not attested in this meaning, unless we turn to *interpretatio hebraica*: Gk δίστομος means "double-mouthed, with two entrances," "double-edged (on swords)" and in LXX it renders Heb **פיפיות** with the same meaning. The latter, however, means also pl. "mouths" (see, e.g., Hebrew Sir 9:4: **פן ישׂ[ר]פך בפיפיתם עם מנג{י}נת אל תדמוך**); cf. *b. Ber.* 11b: **בפיפיות עמך בית ישראל**). In this case, the hypothetic Hebrew verse would read: "For as mouths [do], so also the rooster …" The translation here is based on the emendation proposed by Ryssel: ὡς γὰρ τὰ δῖὰ] στόμα[τος], but the message remains unclear. It may mean that they converse in the language peculiar to them.

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356 Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 6.7; *b. Yoma* 20b–21a; *Cant. Rab.* 5.9; *Pirqe R. El.* 34; *Eccl. Zut.* 86; *Midr. Sam.* 9.74; see comm. to "a thunder like a sound of thunder" in 6:13 above.

357 James, "Baruch," xvii.

Sun's Route (7)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And I said, "And where does the sun begin its labors after the rooster cries?"	1 I Baruch said, "How much does the sun rest?" And the angel told me, "From when the roosters cry out until the light comes."
2 And the angel told me, "Listen, Baruch: all I have showed you is in the first and second heaven.	2 And the angel told me, "Listen, Baruch: what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens,
And in the third heaven	in these places
the sun passes through and gives light to the world.	the sun goes through heaven; then it gives light to the world."
But wait, and you will see the Glory of God."	And he told me, "Wait and you will see the Glory of God.'"
3 And while I was talking with him, I saw the bird, and it appeared in front [of the sun], and grew little by little, and returned to its full size.	
4 And behind it [there was] the shining sun, and with it the angels carrying [it], and a crown upon its head – [it was] a sight we were not able to look directly into it and see [anything]. 5 And as soon as the sun lighted up, Phoenix also stretched out its wings.	
But I, seeing such great glory, became overcome with a great fear, and fled and hid in the wings of the angel. 6 And the angel told me, "Do not afraid, Baruch, but wait and you will see their setting also."	[Cf. 8:6]

NOTES

7:3G. *It appeared in front [of the sun]* (ἀνεφάνη ἔμπροσθεν). Cf. "I saw again the bird coming in front and the sun coming with the angels" (8:1). Hartom understood ἔμπροσθεν as "at the beginning" (7:3) or as ἔμπροσθεν [μου] "before [me]" (8:1).[358] However, 6:2 states clearly ὄρνεον περιτρέχον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡλίου "a bird circling in front of the sun." Cf. also 9:3, where ἔμπροσθεν is used with the third person pronoun: ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς "in front of it [the moon]."

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[358] Hartom, "Baruch," 418–419.

Grew little by little, and returned to his full size (πρὸς μικρὸν μικρὸν ηὔξανε καὶ ἀνεπληροῦτο). Hughes understands it as "grew less and less," and even brings an Indian parallel on the bird Gadura diminishing its size.[359] In fact, πρὸς μικρὸν μικρόν is a biblicism, meaning "little by little; gradually"; cf. Gk κατὰ μικρὸν μικρόν, Heb מעט מעט "little by little" (cf. LXX Deut 7:22); CS **помалоу помалоу** (ms B of *Apoc. Abr.* 5:11).

7:4G. *And behind him [there was] the shining sun, and with it the angels carrying [it], and a crown upon its head* (καὶ ὄπισθεν τούτου τὸν ἥλιον ἐξαστράπτοντα καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους μετ' αὐτοῦ φέροντας καὶ στέφανον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ). Gk φέροντας lacks an object. Hughes understands Gk μετ' αὐτοῦ φέροντας as lit. "carrying along with it." Another possibility is a slight emendation: τοὺς ἀγγέλους μετ' αὐτοῦ φέροντας {καὶ} στέφανον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτου "the angels carrying a crown over its head." The image would be similar to Mithras holding a crown over the sun's head.[360]
7:5G. *Became overcome with a great fear* (ἐταπεινώθην φόβῳ). The same verb – Gk ταπεινόω – is used again with Phoenix in 8:2, 3, and 6 (twice). It means "lessen, reduce, humble, abase" also in the moral sense (cf. Gen 16:9; Lev 23:27; Sir 18:21; Isa 40:4; 58:10; Matt 23:12; 1 Pet 5:6). With "fear" it is used by Hesychius of Alexandia in his *Lexicon* explaining the word κατεπτήχασιν as τῷ φόβῳ ἐταπεινώθησαν.

COMMENTARY

The two versions differ regarding the character of Baruch's next inquiry, whether it concerns the sun's route (G) or a pause in its motion (S). Both versions can be corroborated intertextually.

7:1. "*And where does the sun begin its labors* [or "labors"] *after the rooster cries?" / "How much does the sun rest?" And the angel told me, "From when the roosters cry out until the light comes.*" (καὶ ποῦ ἀποσχολεῖται ὁ ἥλιος ἀφ' οὗ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ φωνεῖ / **много ли почиваѥтъ слъньце и рече ми ангелъ отнѥли коурѧ възгласѧтъ дондеже свѣтъ** [**бываѥтъ б**]). According to G Baruch shows interest in the sun's route. The constant course (πορεία) of luminaries is among the most magnificent works of God:

> Great is our God and glorious, dwelling in the highest, who established in [their] course [ἐν πορεία] the lights for determining seasons from year to year, and they have not turned aside from the way [ὁδοῦ] which he appointed them. In the fear of God (they pursue) their way [ὁδός] every day, from the day God created them and forever. And they did not err since the day he created them. Since the generations of old they have not withdrawn from their ways [ὁδῶν], unless God commanded them by the command of his servants. (*Pss. Sol.* 18:10–12)

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[359] Hughes, "Baruch," 538.
[360] *MMM*, 1.172ff.

The routes of luminaries are known to Judg 5:20; *1 En.* 14:11, 17; 1QH 1.13.[361] "Ways above the firmament" belong to the hidden knowledge according to *4 Ezra* 4:7. Curiosity for the moves of celestial bodies was considered pious by the Rabbis:

> R. Shimeon b. Pazzi said in the name of R. Yehoshua b. Levi on the authority of Bar Kappara: "He who knows how to calculate the cycles [of the sun and the moon] and planetary courses, but does not, of him the Scripture says, 'But they regard not the work of the Lord, neither have they considered the operation of his hands' [Isa 5:12]." R. Shemuel b. Nahmani said in R. Yohanan's name, "How do we know that it is one's religious duty [מצוה על האדם] to calculate the cycles and planetary courses? Because it is written, 'For this is your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the nations' [Deut 4:6]. What wisdom and understanding is in the sight of the nations? That it is the calculation of cycles and planets.'" (*b. Shab.* 75a)

On the interest specifically in the sun's route, see the following:

> How do the orbs of the sun and the moon set? R. Yehudah b. R. Lai and the Rabbis disagree. R. Yehudah said, "Behind the vault and above it" [מאחורי הכיפה ולמעלה]. The Rabbis maintained, "Behind the vault and below it." R. Yonathan said, "The view of R. Yehudah b. R. Lai that it is behind the vault and above it is preferable in respect of summer, when the whole world is hot while the wells are cold; and the opinion of the Rabbis that it is behind the vault and below appears correct in respect of winter [lit. "days of the rain"], when the whole world is cold and the wells are warm." R. Shimeon b. Yohai said, "We do not know whether they fly through the air, glide in the heaven, or travel in their usual manner [אם פורחין הן באויר, ואם שפין ברקיע ואם מהלכין הן כדרכן]. It is an exceedingly difficult matter, and no person can fathom it." (*Gen. Rab.* 6.8)
>
> We have learned in a Baraita, R. Nathan said, "In the summer time the sun moves in the zenith of the sky, hence all the earth is warm and the springs are cool; but in the winter the sun moves in the base of the skies, hence all the earth is cold and the springs are warm." The Rabbis taught: "The sun moves in four different paths. During the months of Nissan, Iyar, and Sivan it moves over the top of the mountains, in order to melt the snow. During Tamuz, Ab, and Elul it moves in the cultivated portions of the earth, in order to ripen the fruit. In Tishri, Mar-Cheshvan, and Kislev it moves over the seas, in order to dry up the lakes. And in Tebeth, Shebat, and Adar it moves in the desert, in order not to parch the seed sown." (*b. Pesah.* 94b)

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[361] Cf. the "paths of luminaries" in Mesopotamian texts (Horowits, *Mesopotamian*, 256–8).

The discrepancies between G and S in 7:1 are very instructive. Either S did not understand its Greek *Vorlage* properly, or, on the contrary, it reflects an older Greek version as is often otherwise the case. Greek *Vorlage* of S might have: καὶ εἶπον ἐγώ καὶ ποῦ ἀποσχολεῖται ὁ ἥλιος [Καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος] ἀφ' οὗ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ φωνεῖ … "And I said, 'And where does the sun begin its labors?' [And the angel told me,] 'After the rooster cries.'"[362] The original dialogue could be presented also without the remark "And the angel told me." (Such dialogues, without remarks between repliques, do occur in G in 6:10–11; 9:5–6, while all parallel texts in S always contain the introducing remarks. Here G could be the one that erroneously united the dialogue into one replique.) S understood Gk ποῦ as "how," and not "where," and either misinterpreted Gk ἀποσχολέομαι "be busy, occupied"[363] as ἀποσχολάζω "rest," or as said, its *Vorlage* in fact had it instead ἀποσχολέομαι, and it was misinterpreted by G.

In the latter case, S could preserve an original version. The question as it is presented in S may imply the concept of the permanent motion of the sun, even by night. The "tireless Helios" is known to *Homeric Hymn* 31; the sun moves at night (although sometimes slumbering) in Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 11.469–70; Ps.-Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.10; Eustath. *ad Hom.* 1632; Virgil, *Georg.* 1.246ff; and Apuleius, *Metam.* 9.22ff.[364] Moreover, in Jewish sources "the sun goes down from heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east" (*1 En.* 72:5; cf. Eccl 1:5).[365] It must pass from west to east either beneath the earth or above the firmament:

> The learned of Israel say, "The sun moves by day beneath the firmament, and by night above the firmament." The learned of the nations say, "The sun moves by day beneath the firmament, and by night beneath the earth."[366] Rabbi said, "The assertion of the learned of the nations seems to be the more reasonable, for during the day the springs are all cold and at night they are all warm." (*b. Pesah.* 94b).[367]

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362 Thus Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 87.

363 *LPG*, 215.

364 For similar Babylonian traditions on the sun that "remains sleepless," see *Great Shamash Hymn* 41–44 (cf. Heimpel, "Sun," 146–47).

365 Thus in the land of Laistrygonians, located in the extreme north, "the pathways of day and night [i.e., of the routs of the sun at day and night] come close together" (Homer, *Od.* 10.80 ff).

366 Thus already Anaxagoras (5th cent. BCE): "The revolution of the stars takes them beneath the earth" (apud *Hipp. Phil.* 8; *Dox.* 561); cf. "Sol has glided down beneath Oceanus, and was giving light to the regions of the world below the earth" (Apuleius, *Metam.* 9.22ff; cf. Virgil, *Georgics* 1. 246ff).

367 These passage comes before another fragment from *b. Pesah.* 94b cited in this comm. above.

The sun's nightly motion under earth and its rest are connected in one of the versions of *2 Enoch* in a very similar context that describes the sunset and the nightly removal of the sun's crown (see the next chapter): "And the sun goes under the earth [J; "revolves" A] in its chariot and rests [J; "goes without lights" A] for seven complete hours in the night" (*2 En.* 14:3). The reading with "rest" is more plausible with "seven hours," since otherwise not seven but twelve hours of night should have been mentioned. However, in *3 Baruch* the "rest" of the sun is much shorter: "from when the roosters cry out until the light comes." Both writings contradict *1 Enoch*, where the sun "does not rest," although it "runs day and night" as well (*1 En.* 72:37). The "rest" meant in *3 Baruch* must be a short phase of the dawn until the actual sunrise. The length of this period, defined as מעלות השחר עד נץ החמה, was of halachic interest for Rabbis as well (*b. Pesah.* 93b).

Our text must also stick to the opinion of "the learned of the nations," R. Yehudah the Patriarch, and *2 Enoch*, since it "gives light to the world" while not going under the firmament but passing above lower firmaments through the third (or second in S) heaven. This brings us to another important distinction between the versions concerning the location of the daytime routes of the luminaries: the third in G and the second in S (7:2). The rationale of placing the sun and the moon in the second heaven was explained by the Rabbis:

> Where are the spheres of the sun and the moon set? In the second heaven, as it is said, "And God set them in the Raqia [רקיע "firmament"] of the heaven" [Gen 1:17].[368] R. Pinehas said in R. Abbahu's name, "This verse is explicit, and the men of the Great Assembly further explained, 'You are the Lord, even you alone, you have made the heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host' [Neh 9:6). Thus where are all their hosts set? In the second Raqia which is above the heaven [i.e., in "the heaven of heavens"]" … R. Yehoshua b. R. Bun quoted, "The heavens declare his righteousness" [Ps 50:6] – In the future the heavens will declare the righteousness which the Lord did for his world in not setting them in the first Rakia, for had he set them in the first Raqia, no creature could have endure the fire of the sun. (*Gen. Rab.* 6.6; cf. *Eccl. Zut.* 1)[369]

Additional evidence for the secondary nature of G in this chapter may be found in verses 3–5a, absent in S, which give a variant of 6:2–5a and must have been interpolated into the extant version of the writing as a result of compilation:

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[368] *Raqia* "firmament" is the name of the second heaven according to *b. Hag.* 12b.

[369] For the hypothesis of the three-heaven structure (with the luminaries in the second heaven) in the *Urtext* of *3 Baruch*, see introductory comm. to ch. 11 (*Ouranology*).

6:2–5aG

And he showed me a chariot-of-four, which was with a fire underneath. And upon the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire. The chariot was drawn by forty angels. And behold, a bird was circling in front of the sun, about nine [cubits] away. And I told the angel, "What is this bird?" And he told me, "This is the guardian of the inhabited world." And I said, "Lord, how is it the guardian of the inhabited world? Show me!" And the angel told me, "This bird goes before the sun, and stretching out its wings receives its fire-shaped rays …"

7:3–5aG

I saw the bird, and it appeared in front [of the sun], and grew little by little, and returned to its full size. And behind it [there was] the shining sun, and with it the angels carrying [it], and a crown upon its head – [it was] a sight we were not able to look directly into it and see [anything]. And as soon as the sun lighted up, Phoenix also stretched out its wings …

See the duplication of the "Builders account" in 2:2–3,7 and 3:1–5a (see introductory comm. to ch. 3). The only justification for a duplication of the description of Phoenix here might have been an actual eye-witnessing of Phoenix stretching its wings only discussed in 6:5 above (on verbal vs. visual revelations cf. comm. to 4:8 and introductory comm. to ch. 9).

7:2. *All I have showed you is in the first and second heaven. And in the third heaven the sun passes through / what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens, in these places the sun goes through heaven*. Here is another important discrepancy between the versions. Although both versions do not number the transfer to the third heaven in 4:2 (in distinction to the two previous transfers, which were numbered), they may imply it, mentioning most other indications of the inter-celestial transition (like the journey and the plain in both versions, and the gate only in S). Nevertheless, S here ignores it, as if Baruch is still in the second heaven. Either this means that the sun descending from the third heaven passes through the gates of the lower two heavens, or this could be a rudiment of the original structure, according to which Beasts and Lights are located in the second heaven. In the latter case, differing from its Greek counterpart (7:2G), 7:2S concurs with another verse of G (10:1G), which numbers the heaven beyond the luminaries as "the third" (the problem is discussed in detail in comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*; see also comm. to ch. 3: *Interpolation Theory* and to 10:1G).

7:5G. *I, seeing such great glory, became overcome with a great fear, and fled and hid in the wings of the angel*. Compare this text with 8:6S. The sun is the only celestial phenomenon that frightens Baruch. Extreme fear or

fainting is a regular element of visionary experience, especially when seeing or hearing God (Dan 8:17–18; *1 En.* 60:3; 65:4; *Apoc. Abr.* 10:2; *Lad. Jac.* 2:1), but also with other visions (Dan 5:6; 7:15; 27; *1 En.* 14:9, 13–14; *4 Ezra* 10:30; Rev 1:17).

Sunset and Earthly Wickedness (8)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taken me he brought me to the west. And when the time of the setting came, I saw again the bird coming in front and the sun coming with the angels. And as soon as it came I saw the angels, and they took the crown off its top. 2 But the bird stood weary and it folded its wings.	1 And the sun came without a crown and 36 angels [with it],
	2 and also the bird [came] slack.
3 And having seen these things, I said, "Lord, why did they took off the crown from the head of the sun, and why is the bird so weary?"	3 And I said, "Lord, where is the crown of the sun gone, and [why] is the bird slack?"
4 And the angel told me, "The crown of the sun, when it has run through the day, four angels take it, and carry up to heaven and renew it, because it and its rays have been defiled on earth; and then it is renewed this way each day."	4 And the angel told me, "The crown of the sun, when the day is over, four angels take it and carry up to heaven, because its rays are defiled from earth."
5 And I Baruch said, "Lord, and why are its rays defiled on earth?"	
And the angel told me, "Because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men, that is to say: fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkennesses, murders, strifes, jealousy, slanders, murmurings, whisperings, divinations,	5 And the angel told me, "The sun seeing all the lawlessness in the world does not endure fornication, adultery, jealousy, rivalry, theft, murder,
and such like, which are not pleasing to God.	all which is not pleasing to God.
Because of these things it is defiled, and because of this it is renewed.	
6 And about the bird, how it becomes weary: because of restraining the rays of the sun, [and] because of the fire and of the whole day's burning it is weary.	6 And the bird is slack, like one of the birds of the world, since it takes up the fiery rays of the sun, and that is why it is slack."

7 For unless its wings, as we said before,
were screening the rays of the sun, no living
creature would survive."

And the four the angels brought the crown
of the sun again.

[Cf. 7:5–6]

And when I saw such glory, I was
frightened and fled under the wings of the
angel. And the angel said, "Do not fear,
Baruch, the Lord is with you, but be bold."

NOTES

8:1G. *Off its top* (ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτοῦ). In 7:4 and 8:3 there is Gk κεφαλή instead. Gk κορυφή, although used with a man or god, often denotes inanimate entities.

8:1S. Ms B: "I saw 230 angels removing the crown off the sun." Family β has instead: "And angels carried up the crown to the Throne of God, and I saw the sun coming, and it was like a man, slack and sad."

8:2, 3, 6G. *Weary* (τεταπεινωμένον). Also "humble," "dejected," contextually probably "exhausted, faint." S translated it as ⲟⲩⲛⲏⲩⲓⲗⲁ "slack." In Hebrew both words may be similar: עוף "bird" and עיף "faint, weary." The word play on the similarity of the two roots is found in *Exod. Rab.* 38: כתיב ארץ עיפתה כמו אופל זה גיהנם שהרשעים פורחים כעוף, ד"א עיפתה שהרשעים עייפים בה "A land *efathah* as darkness" [Job 10:22] – it is Gehenna, in which the wicked flit about like birds. Another explanation: *efathah* – the place where the wicked become weary."

It folded its wings (συστέλλον τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτου). Or: "it contracted/reduced its wings." The same word is used also in 9:1: τούτων συσταλέντων "when they withdrew."

8:5G. *Because of these things it is defiled, and because of this it is renewe*d (διὰ ταῦτα μολύνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνακαινίζεται). Or "By these it is defiled, and that is why it is renewed."

8:5S. Family β adds: "And the sun weeps, since it defiles its crown. For this reason it is cleansed at the Throne of God."

8:6–7S. Ms S has instead of these verses: "And the angel told me: 'It is sad because of the heat and warmth of the sun.'" Cf. "because of the fire and of the whole day's burning" of G.

8:7G. *As we said before* (ὡς προείπομεν). I.e., as said in 6:6. The expression is used by Greek historians (and esp. Josephus) and is widespread in documentary papyri but not typical for pseudepigrapha. The whole verse, absent in S, must belong to a later editorial layer.

COMMENTARY

The sight of the sunset from the celestial point of view focuses on the nightly renewal of the sun's crown defiled by earthly wickedness. This enables another demonstration of the interactive character of the relations between celestial and terrestrial realms, on the one hand, and of the physical and moral issues, on the other.

The procedure of removing of the sun's crown at night is attested also in *2 En*:

> When it [sun] goes out from the western gates, [+ it takes off its light, the splendor which its radiance and J] the four [+ hundred J] angels take away its crown, and carry it [+ up A] to the Lord." (*2 En.* (A) 14:2–3)

Then J proceeds on the sun's journey under the earth at night, while A has "But the sun turns its chariot around and goes without light; and then they place the crown on it." In the Slavonic *About All Creation* the crown is removed by three hundred angels.

Pirqe R. El. 7–8 gives the reason for this practice: as in *3 Baruch* the crown is taken in order to purify it after it being defiled by men's sins. From the *Life of Adam and Eve* it is possible to deduce an alternative rationale for the crown removal. Both the sun and the moon are seen by Eve as "two Ethiopians" (*Apoc. Mos.* 35:4), because "they cannot shine before the Light of all things, the Father of Light" (*Apoc. Mos.* 36:3); see the same logic applied to minor lights in *3 Baruch* below: "as before a king, his household cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine before the sun" (9:8). However, this consideration must be relevant only for the school of "the learned of Israel" who believed that at night the sun passes above the firmament and thus possibly close to the Throne of Glory (see *b. Pes.* 94b cited in comm. to 7:1; cf. *2 En.* (A) 14).

Through what procedure is the sun "renewed?" We are told only that it happens in some higher heaven, since the angels "carry it up to heaven" (8:4). In the next heaven, probably the last one before the heaven of the Throne of Glory, there is a celestial "lake of water" (10:2). It is an abode of the pious souls (10:5G), apparently on their way to other "resting places of the righteous" (16:6S), and although it is not stated, it must be their final purification basin, which could serve the sun as well (see comm. to "lake of water" in 10:2). The sun is known to set into the "water of life": "he lifted me up to the water of life and to the fire of west which receives every setting of the sun" (*1 En.*

17:4).[370] Ritual purificatory ablution as prescribed in biblical texts also becomes effective mostly after sunset (see *t. Shabb.* 2.9; *t. Para* 3.8; *m. Neg.* 14.3; *Sifre Deut.* 256; *b. Ber* 2a-b; on ablution see comm. to 10:2). The very idea of the daily purification of the sun after the sunset might have found its prooftext in ובא השמש וטהר of Lev 22:7, taken out of context and read literally as "and the sun sets and is purified" (instead of "when the sun sets, he [the unclean person] is purified"). The procedure of bathing the sun in a celestial "lake of water" (בריכה של מים) is also associated with another purpose, not for cleaning but for chilling it (see *Gen. Rab.* 6.6 cited in comm. to 6:6). Similarly the setting Shamash is supposed to calm his heart "with cool water" in the Babylonian "Sunset Prayer."[371]

8:1S. *36 angels*. 36 angels accompany the sun at the sunset (only in S). There were 40 angles at the sunrise (6:2), but four of them left to take care of the sun's crown (8:4). The resulting number may also correspond to the 36 "decans" well known to Egyptian and Hellenistic astronomy.

8:4. *Four angels*. These "four angels" who take care of the sun's crown must differ from the four angels of presence in 4:7S (see comm. ibid.). The sun's crown is taken away and brought back by four (or four hundred in J) angels also in *2 En.* (A) 14:2–3.

According to *Pirqe R. El.* 6 the angels must be different at day and night, i.e., a total of eight.[372] Similarly, there are two groups of four "great stars" attending the sun: "Four great stars, holding on the right side of the sun's chariot, four on the left side [going] with the sun perpetually" (*2 En.* (A) 11:4). See "It [the sun's wheel] has eight angels: four in front of it, and four behind it. In front of it – so that it will not burn the world, behind it – so that the it will not cool down" (*Eccl. Zut.* 1; *Yal.* Eccl 967).

Its rays have been defiled on earth. On luminaries witnessing the impiety of the lower world, see comm. to 6:6. Celestial entities can not only witness but even be defiled by earthly wickedness. Human sins darken heavenly waters

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370 The belief in the purificatory immersion of the sun may be referred by the Sadducees mocking the Pharesees: "It once happened that they immersed the [Temple] candelabrum on a festival, and the Sadducees said: 'Come and see the Pharisees who immerse the orb of the sun'" (so in *y. Hag,* 22.1: the Tosefta and the Babylonian Talmud have "the orb of the moon" instead). See Baumgarten, "Immunity." Cf. *Num. Rab.* 12.13 assoiating the Temple candelabrum with the luminaries.

371 Heimpel, "Sun," 129.

372 Toy, Ginzberg, "Baruch," 550.

in *2 Bar.* 58:1 and 60:1. "The lowest [heaven] is dark, since it sees all the injustices of mankind" (*T. Levi* 3:1). The defilement of the sun was known to the Rabbis: "'And it is like a groom going out from his chamber' [Ps 19:6]. As a groom enters in purity and exits defiled, so also the sun's wheel enters in purity and exits defiled [כך גלגל חמה נכנס בטהרה ויוצא בטומאה]" (*S. Eli. Rab.* 2.17; cf. *Midr. Pss.* 19.12, which adds that the sun like a groom "enters strong and exits weak, because of the human sins [מעוונות של בריות]"). See also *Lev. Rab.* 31.9; *Midr. Hag.* Gen 1:42; *Midr. Alphabetot* 118; *Baraita de-Maase Bereshith* 50.[373] The idea may go back to the biblical concept that sins may defile the land (Num 35:34) well developed in Rabbinic literature.

However, some did not agree with this idea: "For the sun [shines] on every impure place, and yet it is not defiled. So it is with Christ …" (Nag Hammadi *Teaching of Silvanus* 101.31–33). Tertullian, quoting a source, states, "Only recently I heard a novel defense offered by one of these devotees of games. 'The sun,' he said, 'nay, even God himself, looks from heaven and is not defiled!'" (*Spect.* 20).

8:5. *Fornications …, and such like*. This is the second list of vices in *3 Baruch*. See comm. to 4:17.

8:6G. *No living creature would survive* (οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα πνοή). For πᾶσα πνοή in similar contexts, cf. LXX Ps 150:6; *T. Abr.* (A) 13:6; and *Acts John* 8. See ξένη πνοή in 2:1G and comm. ibid. Very similar phrasing is found in Matt 24:22 and Mark 13:20: οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ "no flesh will survive." Another phrase from these verse ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας "he shortened the days" appears in 9:7 below.

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[373] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.25; 5.37–38, n. 105.

Moon and Heavenly Disobedience (9)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And when they had withdrawn, at the same time the night also overtook, with the moon and with the stars.	
2 And I Baruch said, "Lord, show me it also, I entreat you, how it goes out, where it goes, and in what shape it walks."	2 And I said to the angel, "Lord, tell me about the movement of the moon, so that I know what it is."
3 And the angel said,	3 And he told me,
"Wait and you will see it shortly."	
And on the morrow I saw it in the shape of a woman, and sitting on a wheeled chariot.	"It is similar to a woman, sitting on an armed chariot,
And in front of it there were oxen and lambs [harnessed] in the chariot, and a multitude of angels likewise.	and the oxen drawing the chariot are 20,
And I said, "Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs?" And he told me, "They also are angels."	and also the oxen are angels.
	The form of the moon is like a woman."
5 And again I asked, "Why is it that at one time it waxes, but at another time wanes?"	5 And I Baruch said, "Lord, when is it extinguished and when does it change?"
6 [And he told me], "Listen, Baruch,	6 And he told me, "Listen, Baruch,
this which you are looking at was depicted by God beautiful as no other.	when it was beautiful,
7 And at the transgression of the first Adam, kindled [its light] for Sammael,	7 when the first-created Adam transgressed, having listened to Satanael,
when he took the serpent as a garment.	when he disguised himself in the serpent,
And it [the moon] did not hide itself but waxed, and God was angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days."	it [the moon] did not hide itself but shone, and God was angry with it and opened to it days to mourn."
8 And I said, "And how is it that it does not also shine always, but only at night?" And the angel said, "Listen, as before a king his household cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine before the sun. For the stars are suspended, but they are outshined by the sun, and the moon, [although] being intact, is exhausted by the heat of the sun."	

NOTES

9:1G. *When they had withdrawn* (τούτων συσταλέντων). Or "when they contracted," see note to 8:2.

At the same time the night also overtook, with the moon and with the stars (καὶ ἡ νὺξ κατέλαβεν καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ μετὰ καὶ τῆς σελήνης καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀστέρων). Ryssel emends: καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ [τὸ ἅρμα] {μετὰ καὶ} τῆς σελήνης καὶ μετα τῶν ἀστέρων ("and at the same time [came] the chariot of the moon with the stars").[374]

9:2G. *Shape* (σχῆμα). Some translate as "pattern, route." However, (1) in the next verse the same word is used unambiguously: ἐν σχήματι γυναικὸς "in the shape of a woman," and (2) nothing is said on the route of the moon below.

9:2S. *Tell … is*. Translation follows β, which is closer to G. Family α has an abridged reading: "teach me what the moon is." The verbal use in the family β is also closer to G. It has CS **съкажи** "tell," which may be a corruption of **покажи** "show, explain," corresponding to Gk δεῖξόν (like in 6:4; cf. 4:8S and comm. ibid.), while α has a contextual **наоучи** "teach."

9:3. *On a wheeled chariot / on an armed chariot* (ἐπὶ ἅρματος τροχοῦ / **на оржжнѣ колесьници**). The translation is based on the assumption that Gk τροχός here is a noun "wheel." This way it was understood also by S: CS **на оржжнѣ колесьници** (only in L; other mss omit **оржжнѣ**), lit. "on an armed chariot" (*Gk ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἐνόπλου), must be a distortion of **на оржжии колесьномь**; cf. 6:2S, where the word **оржжие**, and not **колесьница** is used for "chariot." Hartom notes that "all chariots are wheeled," and proposes to interpret Gk τροχός as an adjective "running, tripping."[375] However, cf. Gk τροχῶν ἅρματος rendering Heb אופן המרכבה in 1 Kgs 7:33.

9:3S. *Drawing*. Ms L has **мьстѧще** meaning "revenge" or "vindicate" as in Gk ἐκδικέω (*Ostr* Luke 18:3). A gloss in L and readings of mss Bβ contextually emend it to different forms of the verb **возити** "draw." The verb might be added in S, since from Gk καὶ ἦσαν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς βόες καὶ ἀμνοὶ ἐν τῷ ἅρματι it may be concluded that "oxen and lambs" are inside the chariot.

9:5S. *When is it extinguished and when does it change*. Family β has "why the moon does not have light as the sun, but all the time is extinguished or begotten?"

9:6. *Depicted* (γεγραμμένη). Also "written" or "ordained, prescribed." See comm. ad loc.

9:7. *Of the first Adam / first-created Adam* (τοῦ πρώτου Ἀδάμ / **пръвосъзьданъı адамъ**). Greek Ἀδὰμ ὁ πρῶτος "the first Adam" (e.g., *Sib. Or.* 3:24; *Apoc. Ezra* 2:10; etc.; cf. *4 Ezra* 3:21) is a Hebraism going back to Heb אדם הראשון, אדם הקדמוני, Aram אדם קדמאה "first man" (*t. Ber.* 6.2; *t. Hul.* 3.20; *t. Sot.* 6.5; *Sifra Lev.* 12; *Gen. Rab.* 20.11; etc.). Cf. 1 Cor 15:45 emending it to "the first man Adam." For the "first-created

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374 Ryssel, "Baruch," 454.
375 Hartom, "Baruch," 420.

Adam" of S, cf. Wis 7:1; *Jub.* 3:28; 10:1; *Sib. Or.* 1:285; *Bib. Ant.* 13:8; *Apoc. Ezra* 2:10; *Apoc. Sedr* 4:4; and Philo, *Quaest. Gen.* 1.32; *Quaest. Exod.* 2.46.

9:7G. *Kindled [its light] for Sammael* (παρῆψε τῷ Σαμαῆλ). The root of Gk παράπτω has also semantics of "transgression," as in παράπτωμα/παράπτοσις. An intentional word-play is possible: "kindled [its light] for / transgressed to Sammael"; cf. the next note. The verb may mean "be near, approach, touch" (as translated by some) only in Medium. The meaning "give light" is given by Lampe basing on our text.[376]

And compressed it (καὶ ἔθλιψεν αὐτήν). Probably also a word-play on the polysemy of Gk θλίβω "compress, reduce in size" and "oppress, afflict, distress."[377]

Shortened its days (ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς). "Shortened life" (reduced the number of its days) must be meant. Cf. the same phrase: "He has broken my strength in midcourse, he has shortened my days [Heb קצר ימי]" (Ps 102:24[23]); "The fear of the Lord prolongs days, but the years of the wicked will be shortened" (Prov 10:27); "pray that your days may be few, that they may be shortened" (*4 Ezra* 2:13). The identical phrase (ἐκολόβωσε τὰς ἡμέρας) refers to the days of eschaton (Mk 13:20).

9:7S. *Opened*. S has **отъкрꙑ** for ἐκολόβωσεν "shortened" of G.

9:7S. *When … serpent*. Family β expands: "When the serpent deceived Eve and Adam, they bared themselves, having eaten the vine and wept bitterly on their nakedness, and all of creation wept with them: heavens, and stars, and the sun, and all of creation shook up to the Throne of God. The angelic powers were greatly shaken by Adam's transgression, but the moon alone laughed."

9:8G. *Household*. In Gk pl. οἰκέται "household members."

Outshined. σκεδάζονται. Lit. "scattered, dispersed" (applied also to rays). This must refer to the dispersed light of the stars.

COMMENTARY

In *3 Baruch*, as well as in some other Jewish sources, the solar and lunar tracks are both in the same heaven (cf., e.g., *2 En.* 11 and *Sefer HaRazim* 4). This differs from the Ptolemaic and most other Hellenistic systems, which posit independent spheres for each luminary (as also *2 En.* 30 does in conflict with the previous account in chs. 3–21).

Just as the Bible addresses sun-worship (see introductory comm. to ch. 6), it also treats the issue of moon-worship: it was forbidden (Deut 17:3) but still practiced (Jer 7:18; 44:17). Kissing one's hand upon seeing the moon,

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376 *LPG*, 1024.

377 Harlow, "Baruch," 10.

as an act of adoration, is mentioned in Job 31:26–27. The moon symbolized beauty (Cant 6:10) and eternity (Ps. 72:5, 7; 89:37).

In S, Baruch does not see the moon, but is told about it by the guiding angel. Gk δεῖξόν "show" in 9:2 corresponds to CS **наоучи** "teach" in family α and **съкажи** "tell" in family β. The latter might have been a corrupted **покажи** "show," but the next verse confirms the verbal nature of the subsequent revelation. The tendency to present verbal excurses in place of actual visions is characteristic for S: the main function of Phoenix, the magnificent view of stretching the wings before the sun, is only described in both versions of 6:4 and is actually only observed in 7:3–5G (probably interpolated; see comm. to 7:1). See also comm. to 4:8.

9:3G. *On the morrow.* In G Baruch already sees "the moon with the stars" (probably in their usual form) in 9:1, when the sun has withdrawn and "the night also overtook." However, the visionary situated in heaven can see the vision of the moon only "on the morrow" (τῇ ἐπαύριον), that is, during the daytime. This would concur with the view that after the sun's setting, the luminaries continue their route above the celestial vault (*Gen. Rab.* 6.8; the Baraita from *b. Pes.* 94b, cited in the comm. to 7:1). Following this logic, we can infer that the sun should have been shown at night; however, it was shown during the day too.

9:3. *Shape of a woman / similar to a woman*. See "the form of the moon is like a woman" in S below. This must be an answer to the question of 9:2: "in what shape it walks." This likening is rare in Jewish sources (cf., e.g., *b. Hul.* 60b). The notion of a female moon deity seems to have been a relatively late invention. In the ancient Orient (apart from in Egypt) the moon deities are exclusively male: Sumerian Nanna, Semitic Suen/Sin (although Nanna-Sin was known as a ruler of women, probably due to the connection to menstrual circles), Hurrite Kushuh, Hittite Arma, Syrian Sanugar (Ebla)or Shaggar, Sheger (Emar) or Yarih, Arabic Shahr, etc. The moon goddess appears only in Egypt from the time of Ramses II onwards (1290–1224 BC); in Hellenistic period it is sometimes associated with Isis. Greek mythology has both masculine Men and feminine Selene. The clear dichotomy between masculine Sun and feminine Moon (as in *3 Baruch*) is found in Rome, where Luna was subordinate to Sol.[378]

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[378] Bendlin, Röllig, Lieven, "Moon."

9:3. *A wheeled chariot. And in front of it there were oxen and lambs [harnessed] in the chariot / an armed chariot, and the oxen carrying the chariot are 20.* In *1 En.* 72:3 and in *2 En.* (A) 16:7 the moon in a chariot is carried by wind, and in *2 Enoch* it is also accompanied by angels. On the angel Ofaniel (from אופן "wheel") as responsible for the moon, see *3 En.* 14:4.[379]

The Greek female moon deity Selene, who drives a *biga* chariot of two horses or oxen (in distinction to the sun's quadriga), is well known in Greek iconography and written sources. The same representation of Roman Luna must also go back to Greek models (cf. Plautus, *Bacch.* 255);[380] cf. also Suidas, s.v. ταυροπόλος. All these elements – likeness of woman, oxen and chariot – appear in a Mythraic depictions of the moon chariot carried by white oxen.[381]

G has "oxen and lambs," while S has only "oxen." The visual similarity of a new moon to bull horns probably gave rise to multiple associations of the moon deities with images of oxen. The moon appears as a horned bull in Akkadian myths. In Palmyra and among the Lihyan, the moon deity Shahr was called Aglibol ("young bull of Bol"); in Hatra he was referred to as Barmaren and represented as a bull. In Egypt, the full moon was called the "rutting bull," the new moon – the "ox."[382] Late tradition connected Apis with the moon (Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 43). In the Jewish context, the list of animals in G, including lambs as well as oxen, is almost identical to the list of sacrificial animals prescribed for the New Moon service: "And in the beginnings of your months you shall offer a burnt offering to the Lord: two young bulls, and one ram, seven yearling lambs, without blemish" (Num 28:11; cf. Ezek 46:6; Josephus, *Ant* 3.10.1). Pagan sacrificial practices also included a pair of bulls for the moon:

> they offered to the Sun four white horses, the swiftest creatures to the most rapid of the gods; to the Moon a pair of oxen, giving her who is nearest to the earth those animals that work the earth … At the altar of the Moon stood two bulls, and at the altar of the Sun four white horses ready to be sacrificed. (Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 10.6)

Tertullian, when referring to circus games, notes: "concerning the chariot, the four-horse team was consecrated to the Sun; the two-horse team, to the Moon" (*Spect.* 9).

S is the most consistent in agreeing with these traditions: similar to *3 Baruch* having a quadriga with forty "fiery horses" for the sun (6:2S; just "an-

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379 Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 8.202–05.

380 Gordon, "Selene."

381 *MMM*, 1.126.

382 Bendlin, Röllig, Lieven, "Moon."

gels" in G) and a chariot with twenty oxen for the moon (9:3S; no number in G), the sources above speak of quadriga or four horses for the sun and biga and two bulls (or horses) for the moon.

9:6. *Depicted* (γεγραμμένη). Also "written" or "ordained, prescribed." This lexical choice may hint at the concept of a celestial archetypical "picture" of creation. This Platonic idea is probably intended in *Apocalypse of Abraham* and is developed in Rabbinic sources:

> And I said, "Eternal Mighty One! What is this picture of creation?" And he said to me, "This is my will for existence in design, and it was pleasing to me. And then, afterward, I gave them a command by my word and they came into being. And whatever I had determined to be had already been previously depicted and stood before me in this, as you have seen, before they were created." (*Apoc. Abr.* 21:2–3)

> The Torah declares, "I was the working tool of the Holy One. In human practice, when a mortal king builds a palace, he builds it not with his own skill but with the skill of an architect. The architect moreover does not build it out of his head, but employs plans and diagrams to know how to arrange the chambers and the wicket doors. Thus God consulted the Torah and created the world." (*Gen. Rab.* 1.1)

Serpent. See comm. to ch. 4.

9:7. *And it [the moon] did not hide itself*. But did the sun did hide itself? The moon was probably expected to eclipse at the fall of the first humans as the sun did during the crucifixion (Matt 27:45) following Joel 2:10: in the day of the Lord "the sun and the moon will darken, and the stars will withdraw their shining" (cf. Ps 72:5). Both luminaries are supposed to withhold their light, "where the light of Zion is darkened" (*2 Bar.* 10:12). During the Flood the moon did not give light together with the sun (*Gen. Rab.* 25.2; 31.11; 33.3; 34.11; *b. Sanh.* 108b; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 6:16). Both luminaries refused to rise, when Korah was disputing with Moses (*b. Ned.* 39b; *b. Sanh.* 110a). On the sun's eclipse as a sign of grief, see also *b. Suk.* 29a.

Rabbinic sources also tell of the "fall" of the moon that happened for diverse reasons (*Gen. Rab.* 6.3; *Mek.* Bo 1; *b. Hul.* 60b; *b. Sheb.* 9a; *Tg. Jer.* Gen 1:16 and Num 28:15; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5; *Pesiq. R.* 15; *Pirqe R. El.* 4–6 and 51; *Tan. B.* 2.47; *Midr. Konen* 25–26). However, the connection between the moon's "fall," its diminishing and periodical disappearance, and the fall of the first humans – and even the cooperation of the moon with Sammael[383] are unique for *3 Baruch*. In human transgressions the sun and

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[383] Especially according to G, where it not only continued to shine as in S, but even waxed. According to the family β of S it laughed alone when all luminaries wept together with first men (see note to 9:7S).

the moon are normally not collaborators but witnesses (*1 En.* 1:7; 100:10; *Sifre Deut.* 306; *b. Abod. Zar.* 3a; etc.; cf. with *Helios Panoptes*). For the stars punished for disobedience in *1 En.* 18:15–16, see comm. to 9:8 below.

3 Baruch says nothing about the widely known motif of the moon as a symbol of Israel (the moon became such a symbol as a compensation for its reduction; cf. sources above and especially *Mek.* Bo 1, 3a; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5, 54a; *Pesiq. R.* 15; *Tan. B.* 2.47).[384] *2 Baruch* connected the destruction of Jerusalem with the moon's eclipse: "And do you, O moon, extinguish the multitude of your light; for why should light rise again where the light of Zion is darkened (*2 Bar.* 10:12), while Isaiah connected the restoration of Israel to the magnification (also restoration to the former state?) of the moon: "The light of the moon will be as the light of the sun" (Isa 30:26). Rabbinic exegesis also adds to the story of the moon's punishment a promise for its increase in future (see references in the next comm.). Can the fall and punishment of the moon allude to the fall and destruction of Jerusalem in the prologue? The only hint for such an implied comparison might have been found in 9:8G below: as Israel survives, though injured, so also "the moon, [although] being intact, is exhausted by the heat of the sun" (see comm. below).

God was angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days / God was angry with it and opened to it days to mourn (καὶ ὠργίσθη αὐτῇ ὁ θεός καὶ ἔθλιψεν αὐτήν καὶ ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς / **и прогнѣва сѧ на нь богъ и отъкры ѥмоу дьни да скръбитъ**). The nature of the punishment in G is not fully clear. Gk θλίβω may be taken literally as "reduce, compress, crash" or metaphorically "afflict, oppress." The latter meaning is widely attested in LXX, rendering Heb לחץ (LXX Judg 4:3; 2 Kgs 13:4; Ezek 18:18; Ps 56:1; 106:42; Job 36:15). Thus, either (1) God "compressed" the moon from its former size, which was equal to the sun and thus "shortened its days" or (2) he "afflicted" it by "shortening its days." The author probably was aware of both meanings, and it is one more intentional word-play in this verse (see note to "kindled [its light]/transgressed for Sammael" above; see also the word-plays in 1:7G; 4:7S; 4:17G; 9:7G; 15:1S). The first suggestion is in accord with the widely known tradition that initially both luminaries were of the same size, and only later the moon was diminished (*Gen. Rab.* 6.3; *Mek.* Bo 1; *b. Hul.* 60b; *b. Sheb.* 9a; *Tg. Jer.* Gen 1:16 and Num 28:15; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5; *Pesiq. R.* 15; *Pirqe R. El.* 4–6 and 51; *Tan.*

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[384] The only link may be the definition of the moon as "beautiful" (9:6) like the bride "beautiful as the moon" in Cant 6:10.

B. 2.47). However, the second option may be confirmed by an older tradition which states that "his [the sun's] light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon, but as regards size they are both equal" (*1 En.* 72:37). Moreover, the verse 9:8 below, which says that "the moon, [although] being *intact* is exhausted by the heat of the sun" (ἡ σελήνη σῷα οὖσα ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου θερμῆς ἐκδαπανᾶται), may be interpreted also as "the moon being *undiminished* …," since Gk σῶς means not only "intact, safe, well," but also "whole, undiminished." And finally, the second interpretation aligns well with the question of the visionary, who did not ask, why the moon is smaller than the sun, but "why is it that at one time it waxes, but at another time wanes" (9:5). The phases of the moon are discussed also in *1 En.* 73–74 and *2 En.* 16.

The reading of S (ms L) is also not clear (explanatory reading of mss Bβ must be secondary). It does not refer to any reduction of the moon's size or light, but probably only to the moonless days as the "days to mourn" (cf. previous comm. on eclipse as a sign of mourning).

9:8G. *Stars*. "The moon and the stars cannot shine before the sun," just as the sun and the moon "cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, the Father of Light" (*Apoc. Mos.* 36:3). Does this imply that the stars were also punished? The stars were known to receive a punishment for disobedience:

> This place is the end of heaven and earth; this has become a prison for the stars and the hosts of heaven. And the stars which roll over in the fire are ones which transgressed the command of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come out at their appointed time. And he was angry with them, and bound them until the time of the consummation of their sins – ten thousand years. (*1 En.* 18:14–16)

> And there I saw seven of the stars of heaven bound and cast together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. Then I said, "For what reason [or "sin" in Ethiopic] are they bound, and for what reason have they been cast here?" Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, and he was their leader, told me, "Enoch, why do you ask, and why are you eager for the truth? These are the stars of heaven, which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here until ten thousand years, the time of their sins, are consummated." (*1 En.* 21:3–6; cf. 88; 90:24; cf. "rebellious stars" in *b. Moed Q.* 16a)

As the stars are "bound" in *1 En.* 18:15–16 and 21:6, so also "the stars are suspended" (οἱ ἀστέρες κρέμανται) in *3 Baruch*. Aetius tells that the Pre-Socratic Anaximenes held that the stars were fastened like "nails" in the "crystalline" sphere of the sky (2.14.3; *DK* 13 A14), and Empedocles believed that the fixed stars were attached to the sky in distinction to "wandering" planets (2.13.11; *DK* 31 A54). "Fixed star" in Greek and Latin be-

came a technical term (Gk ἀπλανής; Lat *stellae inerrans/inerabilis*), which was known also to Jewish authors of *Pr. Jac.* 16 and *b. Pes.* 94b (מזלות קבועין). The assumption of the fixed stars must go together with the concept of rotating celestial spheres (in order to explain the visible motion of stars): "The learned of the nations say, 'The sphere revolves, and the zodiacs are fixed [וחכמי אומות העולם אומרים גלגל חוזר ומזלות קבועין]' (*b. Pesah.* 94b); cf. Plato (*Rep.* 10; *Tim.* 38c-e) and Aristotle (*passim*; e.g., *Cael.* 2.8 [289b–290b]). On the connection of this conception to the rationale of 365 celestial gates, see comm. to "365 gates of heaven" in 6:13 above.

IV. Birds or *Abode of Just*

Lake of Birds (10:1–7)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And when I had learnt all these things from the archangel,	
he took and brought me into	1 And the angel of host took me to
the {third} [fourth] heaven.	a large [and] wide mountain,
2 And I saw an even plain, and in the middle of it a lake of waters.	2 and in the midst of the mountain there was a large lake of water.
3 And there were in it multitudes of birds	3 And there were birds
of all species,	from all heaven,
but not similar to [those] here [on earth].	but not similar to these [on earth], [but] very large,
But I saw a crane [as large] as great oxen;	similar to a crane.
and all were larger than those in the world.	And there were other birds larger than those.
4 And I asked the angel, "What is the plain, and what is the lake, and what is the multitude of birds around it?"	4 And I asked the angel, "What is this lake in the midst of the mountain and what are these birds?"
5 And the angel said,	5 And he told me,
"Listen, Baruch! The plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir.	

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but not similar to [those] here [on earth].	but not similar to these [on earth], [but] very large,
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"Listen, Baruch! The plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir.	

[Cf. 10:7]	"There are pure birds praising God unceasingly day and night.
6 But the water is that which the clouds receive and rain upon earth, and the fruits grow."	6 And the clouds take the water from there and rain upon earth, and a fruit grows."
7 And I said again to the angel of the Lord, "And the birds?"	
And he told me, "They are those which continually sing praise to the Lord."	[Cf. 10:5]

NOTES

10:1S. *Angel of host/power* (**ангелъ силыныи**). This definition, in distinction to **ангелъ силы** of 2:1S; 11:1S (cf. Gk ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων of 1:8G; 2:6G) may be understood also as "strong angel." Cf. comm. to T:1S.

10:4S. Translated according to ms B. Ms L adds an address "Lord" and omits the words "what is this lake in the midst of the mountain." Ms B corresponds to G, while ms L goes better with the continuation of S, which, in distinction to G, lacks the first explanation on the lake given in 10:5. Slavonic 10:5–7 correspond to Greek 10:6–7, but in reverse order. Thus, 10:5G, giving an additional explanation on both the lake and the birds, was either omitted in S or interpolated in G.

Lake of waters / large lake of water (λίμνην ὑδάτων / **ꙁеро велико водъı**). A biblicism found also in LXX (Heb **אגם מים**; Ps 107:35; 114:8; cf. Isa 14:23; 41:18).

10:5. *When they assemble, living together choir by choir* (ὅταν ὁμιλῶσι συνδιάγοντες χοροὶ χοροί). Gk ὁμιλέω may be also used as "hold converse." Gk χορός means "band of singers" (and/or "dancers"); it cannot be used for a "flock" of birds. Cf. Heb (ה)מקהל as "assembly" and possibly "choir" (Ps 26:12; 68:27). See comm. below.

10:7G. *And I said again to the angel* (καὶ εἶπον πάλιν τὸν ἄγγελον). Cf. καὶ λέγει καὶ τοὺς ἀποκένους φέροντας τοὺς κανίσκους (15:3). In both case λέγω is used with acc. in place of dat. with preposition.

COMMENTARY

Whereas in the lower heavens the punishment of the wicked was shown (the Builders and Hades of chs. 2–5),[385] here, in the higher heaven, there is a description of the abode for the righteous souls.[386] Its placement in the narrative and in the structure of heavens is meaningful: the account of the luminaries appears between the descriptions of the two realms (chs. 6–9), and the report on the higher realm follows the account of the moon (ch. 9), i.e., this abode is "beyond the moon" (cf. lower impure and higher "holy" heavens in *2 En.* 8:5; *T. Levi* 3:3; *Quest. Ezra* (A) 19–20). Although the world view of *3 Baruch* does not have much in common with Greek cosmologies (see *Introduction*: Cosmology), this detail may agree with the views known to the Greek philosophers who believed that the superlunary sphere was substantially different from the sublunary one. The idiomatic use of these terms in modern languages goes back to a literal structural and functional differentiation of the two realms in ancient science: according to the Pythagorean and Platonic determination the sphere beyond the moon is the region of immutable eternal order.[387]

The superlunary abode of pious souls is located together with the storage place of celestial waters. Parallels show that in accord with the "multifunctionalist" approach of *3 Baruch* (ascribing to physical phenomena metaphysical functions), these waters probably not only serve for "fruitful" rain and dew, but also for purification of the souls during their heavenly ascent, a purification which might precede their anointing necessary for their final transformation (see on the Oil Reward in ch. 15). Thus, the Lake must be a transition station in the migration of soul-birds to a higher and eternal "resting places of righteous" (16:6S).

10:1G. *A {third} [fourth] heaven*. The translation follows the logic of the extant redaction. Both mss have τρίτον "third." However, the entrance to the third heaven was implied in 4:2, although in the extant mss no number is provided (in contrast to 2:2; 3:1; 7:2G and 11:1, where the numbers of the first, the second; the third and the fifth heaven are explicitly mentioned). This might be the reason that here original Gk τέταρτον "fourth" could have been changed due to scribal conjecture to τρίτον "third." So it reflects

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385 On heaven as a place of punishment see introductory comm. to ch. 4 (*Celestial Bestiary* 1.4: "Hell in Heaven").

386 At least according to G (see below). The issues of the afterlife of the righteous are probably raised again in ch. 15:2 (see comm. ibid).

387 See Gilbert, *Meteorologischen*, 83.

an (inconsistent) logic of the extant redaction. Otherwise, if τρίτον here is not a corruption, but a remnant of the original version, the whole division into heavens in *3 Baruch* would appear to be a result of an inaccurate late elaboration of a proto-text which initially held a three heavens cosmology (on this see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

There is an alternative way to argue for the originality of the "third" here. A witty attempt to reconstruct the original structure of the text was made by Martina Frasson.[388] Here (in 10:1) the regular description of the intercelestial journey in G (cf. 2:1–3; 3:1–3; 4:1–3) is lacking, while the number of the heaven ("third") is given. In the previous transfer in 4:2, in contrast, the journey is described, but the number of the heaven is absent. The "fourth" heaven is never mentioned (while the fifth is; 11:1). The total number of days for all three journeys is 275: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); 185 (4:2). Assuming that Baruch's journey lasted 365 days (basing on the number of solar gates in 6:13), Frasson proposes to insert into 10:1 the notion of a 90-day journey. If we would like to put the numbers in ascending order, we would have to relocate the current chapter to between ch. 3 and 4: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); **90* (10:1); 185 (4:2). Thus, the visions of the second heaven (Serpent, Hades, Tree, the sun and the moon) would be related to the fourth heaven, the structure of which fits well with the cosmology of *2 En.* 11.[389]

10:1. *Archangel / angel of host*. The angelic guide is called "archangel" only here. Elsewhere in *3 Baruch* only Michael merits such a title (11:8; 12:4). Philo's "archangel," described as the "eldest Logos" (*Her.* 42.205) in all his works, normally refers to an angel of Israel, although the name "Michael" is not mentioned (*Somn.* 1.15.157; *Conf.* 28.146; *Mos.* 1.29; 166).[390]

10:2. *Even plain / mountain* (πεδίον ἁπλοῦν [acc.] / **горѣ** [gen.]). S has "mountain" instead of "plain." Heavenly mountains are known from Is 14:13 and Ezek 28:13–19. Among the many mountains seen by Enoch, most are located on earth, but some are explicitly defined as "secret things of heaven" (*1 En.* 52:2) and are destined to become "as a fountain of water" (*1 En.* 53:7; cf. "lake of water" in *3 Baruch*). More frequently in apocalyptic literature mountains are only conduits to heaven, i.e., they are

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388 Frasson, "Struttura."

389 Alternatively, the three journeys may reflect the original three heavens scheme (for additional arguments in its favor see comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

390 See Goodenough, *Light*, 79–80; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1.378.

not located there (e.g., *Jub.* 4:6; *1 En.* 17–19; *Apoc. Abr.* 9:8; 12; *Apoc. Zeph.* 3:2; Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul*; etc.).[391] In *3 Baruch* the celestial mountain is a dwelling place for the birds, interpreted in G as the souls of the pious dead. A mountain in the west is the abode of the deceased also in *1 En.* 22, and it has "a fountain of water in the midst of it" as well.[392] Soul is called a bird fleeing to the "mountain" (Heb רכס) in Ps 11:1. "Birds of mountains" are adjacent to the celestial "archetypical" bird Ziz according to the Rabbinic reading of Ps 50:11 (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *b. B. Bat.* 73b; cf. comm. to "birds" below).

In G there are no mountains in heaven. Heaven is a plain, as are the other heavens (on celestial plains in *3 Baruch* see comm. to 2:2). However, only this one is defined as "even, monotonous, unbroken" (πεδίον ἁπλοῦν). Gk adj. ἁπλόος (or contr. ἁπλοῦς) means not only physically "even,"[393] but also "simple, plain, sincere," as well as being a moral virtue.[394] In this sense it could render Heb תם "simple, innocent, perfect" (LXX Prov 10:9; Job 22:3). In Patristic literature the adjective was often used to define the nature of God, Logos, divine wisdom, light, beauty, etc.[395] This may be linked to the function of this plain as a place of assembly for the pious souls (see 10:5G and comm. below). The proto-text could contain Gk πεδίον ἁπλῶν "valley of innocent [souls]" (Heb גיא התמימים?; unattested elsewhere).

Afterlife plains were known to Greeks (Elysian Fields and Isles of the Blessed; see Homer, *Od.* 4.561–69; Hesiod, *Op.* 167–73; cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 2.69–71; Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.26; Plato, *Phaed.* 113a; and Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* 2.6–13). In *Sib. Or.* 2:413–14 the "Elysian plain" is a location of "Acherusian lake" (cf. next. comm.). Different sorts of post-mortem valleys are known also to the Bible (although mostly with negative connotations): valley (Heb בקעה; Gk πεδίον) of resurrection of Ezek 37:1–2; "valley (Heb גיא) of the death shadow" in Ps 23:4, and "valley of weeping" in Ps 84:7. See the "deep valleys" of *1 En.* 10:2; 52:1, 53:1; and *passim.* Gehenna, which in *3 Baruch* and some other sources located in heaven (see comm. to ch. 4), is also described as a "plain" in *2 En.* (A) 40:13 ("plain like a prison"). Elijah testifies in the apocryphal Latin *Epistle of Titus:* "The angel

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391 On mountains in early Jewish literature cf. Clifford, *Cosmic.*

392 For non-Jewish parallels see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 146–77.

393 Cf., e.g., τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων "open plains" in Aristophanes, *Eq.* 527.

394 *LPG* 187, B1. Theoretically Gk ἁπλοῦν may also be a part. praes. acc. sg. from ἁπλόω "unfold, stretch out" or even "open, reveal," also in theological contexts (see multiple examples in *LPG* 188, B2): "revealing plain"?

395 Ibid. 187, A.

of the Lord showed me a deep valley, which is called Gehenna." The word "valley" is in fact a part of the etymology of the term (Heb גי(א) (בן) הנום "valley of Hinom"). However, another Hebrew word for "plain," מישור, is found in the contexts reminding the descriptions of *3 Baruch*: "Your spirit [or "wind"] is good. Lead me to the plain land [תנחני בארץ מישור] (Ps 143:10)"; this term even relates to praise in assemblies: "My foot stands on a plain,[396] I will bless the Lord in assemblies" (Ps 26:12).

Lake of water. The lake of birds is a unique image in Jewish apocalypticism, not counting a negative definition in *1 En.* 18:12: "There was neither water, nor birds" (pl. in Ethiopic and sg. in Greek). The most similar is the Acherusian lake (Ἀχέρουσα λίμνη), which is also an abode of righteous or of immortal souls in *Apoc. Mos.* 37:3; *Sib. Or.* 2:334–338; *Apoc. Paul* 22–23; *Apoc. Pet.* 14; cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 113a). Sometimes "lake" and "river, stream" are not distinguished: "And behold, a *river*, and the waters of it were white exceedingly, more than milk, and I told the angel, 'What is this?' And he told me, 'This is the *lake* Acherusia'" (*Apoc. Paul* 22–23). The sources of water seem to be a regular accessory to the abodes of the pious: "Such a division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water" (*1 En.* 22:9). Cf. "fountain of life" (Heb מקור חיים) of Ps 36:10.[397]

Why are these waters necessary there? Although it is not stated in *3 Baruch*, parallels show that the lake must be a purgatory basin or even *fons vitae* for the souls as they transform into eternal and celestial beings.[398] In Egypt the righteous is "washed in the Lake of Perfection"[399] or "bathed in the celestial waters."[400] The idea was adopted by Plato (*Phaedo* 113a; cited below). The Lake of Acherousia has the same function in Jewish and Christian sources:

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396 LXX understood it here as "straightness." The word can mean also "uprightness" as in Isa 11:4; Ps 67:5; etc.

397 Here it follows "men shelter in the shadow of your wings" (Ps 36:8); on the protective "shadowing" in *3 Baruch*, see comm. to 6:2 and introductory comm. to ch. 6. Greek Hades also had springs of water (see Charles, *Enoch*, 49).

398 As probably also in Rev 7:17, where the pious in their afterlife are led to "the springs of living water." Heb מים חיים lit. "living water," referring only to "running water" in the Bible, could be midrashically interpreted as "water of life" (as in Rev 22:1, 17); for the same term see *1 En.* 17:4 (cf. comm. to ch. 8) and "water of life" of Babylonian mythology (*ANET* 108, l. 34).

399 *Book of the Dead* 172; Wright, *Heaven*, 23.

400 Coffin Text # 293; Faulkner, *Coffin*, 1.218; Wright, *Heaven*, 23.

> There came one of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, and led him before God. And he stayed there three hours, lying down, and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael saying, "Lift him up into paradise unto the third heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world." (*Apoc. Mos.* 37:3–5)

> He [Adam] is delivered by the commandment of the Lord to Michael the angel, and he washes him in the lake Acherusa and so brings him in to the city of Christ with them that have done no sin. (*Apoc. Paul* 23)

> Then I will give to my elect and righteous the washing and the salvation for which they have besought me, in the field of Akroseya which is called Aneslasleya. They will adorn with flowers the portion of the righteous, and I shall go […] I shall rejoice with them. I will cause the peoples to enter into my everlasting kingdom, and show them that eternal thing. (*Apoc. Pet.* 14)

A similar function is attributed to the streams of balsam in which souls bathe before entering Paradise (*Bet HaMidr.* 3.31 and 139; 5.183; 2.29). Baptismal and ablutionary practices were well established in Jewish and Christian circles where, in addition to effecting purification, they could also signify a rebirth (especially for proselytes; cf., e.g., *b. Yeb*. 48b; John 3:5). Immersion into water could also have regenerative meaning in Hellenistic mysterial initiations:

> Washing is the channel through which they [the nations] are initiated into some sacred rites – of some notorious Isis or Mithras … At all events, at the Apollinarian and Eleusinian games they are baptized; and they presume that the effect of their doing that is their regeneration and the remission of the penalties due to their perjuries. (Tertullian, *Bapt.* 5; cf. Philo, *Somn.* 14)[401]

Note that in *3 Baruch* the lake waters are also a source of "the dew of heaven" (10:9G), which is frequently described as having resurrective qualities (see comm. ibid.)

There are two more indirect confirmations of the purificatory function of the lake within the text of *3 Baruch* itself: (1) the birds dwelling on it are called "pure [or "clean"] birds" in 10:5S (see comm. ibid.) and (2) the sun's crown is said to be carried from one heaven below the heaven of the lake somewhere "up to heaven" (8:4) for a daily purification (for details see introductory comm. to ch. 8). In *3 Baruch* the Lake account immediately follows the vision of the Lights, and in Rabbinic lore the "lake of water"

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401 Cf. Nock, "Pagan."

[בריכה של מים] was known to be set before the sun in order to chill it in its rise "lest it burn the world" (*Gen. Rab.* 6.6; see comm. to 6:6).

Below we learn that the righteous are rewarded with oil (ch. 15). If this oil reward is a reward of the afterlife, *3 Baruch* must present two kinds, or rather two stages, of the postcarnate transformation of the pious: ablution and anointing. Deceased Adam was subjected to both procedures: his soul was washed (*Apoc. Mos.* 37:3–5 cited above) and his body anointed (40:2). So, too, Levi's consecration into the priesthood, during his lifetime, underwent both processes in heaven, although in reverse order: "And the first [angelic "man in white"] anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the rod of judgment; the second washed me with pure water" (*T. Levi* 8:4–5). In *3 Baruch* the Tree of Life is most probably an olive and a source of anointing oil (see comm. to 4:7S and ch. 15). "Waters of life" and the "Tree of Life" are united in the concluding chapter of Revelation (22:1–2) and both are used subsequently: "who wash their robes, they may have the right to the Tree of Life" (Rev 22:14; cf. 22:17):

> Then he showed me a pure river of the water of life, clear as crystal, coming from the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the middle of its street. On either side of the river was the Tree of Life, bearing twelve ["crops of" or "kinds of"] fruit, yielding its fruit every month; and the leaves of the Tree were for the healing of the nations (22:1–2) … Blessed are those who wash their robes, so that they may have the right to the Tree of Life, and may enter by the gates into the city. (22:14)

Both procedures are united in the resurrection process of *Gos. Nicod.* 19:

> Then the most beloved Son of God will come upon earth to raise up the body of Adam and the bodies of the dead, and he will come and be baptized in Jordan. And when he comes forth of the water of Jordan, then he will anoint with the oil of mercy all that believe in him, and that oil of mercy will be for all generations of them that will be born of water and of the Holy Ghost, for eternal life.

The same order of the rite occurs in *Acts Thom.* 25: "cleansing them with your washing and anointing them with your oil from the error that encompasses them." The ablution and anointing in different orders were combined in many Gnostic and Christian baptismal practices (*Apost. Const.* 7.22; Ps.-Clementine *Rec.* 3; Pseudo-Justin, *Quaest. ad Orthodoxos* 137), and both are attested for the dead or dying with obvious connotations to the reward of the life after death; see baptism of the dead (1 Cor 15:29), Gnostic "sealing" of the dead with oil (Origen, *Cels.* 6.27, 34), and the rite of unction (cf. comm. to ch. 15).

The verse 10:5G says: "where the souls of the righteous *come, when they assemble* …". Does it mean they only come, occasionally, from other

abodes? Or do they rather "assemble" from earth and reside there temporarily before going to other abodes? In accordance with 16:6S, which employs the plural "the resting places of the righteous," the lake might not be the only place for righteous souls. The idea of the multiplicity of such abodes is not unique: "In my Father's house there are many mansions" (John 14:2; cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.6); "Many shelters have been prepared for people, very good houses, [and] bad houses without number" (*2 En.* 61:2; cited according to A). The *Apocalypse of Paul* mentions three places: the Land of the Blessed (14), the paradise of the third heaven (45), and the terrestrial paradise (45–51). See also *1 En.* 22 on three "hollow places" for different categories of souls. Plato's Acherusian lake is also just a transition point:

> This is the lake to the shores of which the souls of the many go when they are dead, and after waiting an appointed time, which is to some a longer and to some a shorter time, they are sent back to be born again into living beings. (*Phaedo* 113a)

At the same time, "these, all who have duly purified themselves by philosophy live henceforth altogether without bodies, and pass to still more beautiful abodes which it is not easy to describe" (*Phaedo* 114c). In *3 Baruch*, the lake also may be a gathering and transition point, while the ultimate destination of the birds-souls must be the "the kingdom of Heaven" (11:2G) or "the resting places of the righteous" (16:6S), achieved probably in the Day of Judgment (1:7) due to the Oil Reward (ch. 15). The image of the soul-birds as "multitudes of birds of all species" residing on the lake shores on their way to their eternal abode could have been inspired by magnificent views of huge migratory birds flocks (often including cranes, as in 10:3)[402] stopping on the water reservoirs of Palestine and other lands of the south-eastern Mediterranean on their way to Africa, as can still be seen even today. These views are also a well attested iconographic motif in these regions (cf. comm. to "crane" in 10:3 below).

The most striking parallels to the destiny of the dead as presented in *3 Baruch* are provided by the "the speech of the deceased" from the Egyptian Papyrus of Nu (BM 10.477.24):

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[402] "Of birds, the crane, as has been said, migrates from one end of the world to the other" (Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 12).

"the dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly, and he is nourished by them" (4:5G)	The deceased asks to deliver him from "the god Baba who feeds on the entrails of the mighty ones upon the day of the great reckoning"
"blackened" angels of sinners bringing punishment on their charges (13:1; 16:2–3)	and from "divine messengers who cause dire deeds to happen, and who cause calamities to come into being, and who are without coverings for their faces."
the celestial lake, most probably the purification basin of the souls of the deceased (10:2–5) and the sun's crown brought by its angels at night (8:4)	He says, "I have purified myself and my breast with libations … and my hinder parts with the things which make clean, and my inward parts have been [immersed] in the Pool of Right and Truth. There is no single member of mine which lacks right and truth. I have been purified in the Pool of the South, and I have rested in the City of the North, which is in the Field of the Grasshoppers, wherein the divine sailors of Rā bath at the second hour of the night and at the third hour of the day."
Before the gate to the Kingdom of Heaven, the flowers-virtues of humans are exchanged in the heavenly liturgy for the oil (probably the Olive Tree of Life planted by Michael; 15:1–2; 4:7S)	In order to enter the "city," he adds, 'My name is he who is provided with flowers, and dweller in his olive tree.' Then let them say unto me straightway, 'Pass on,' and I would pass on to the city to the north of the Olive tree"

10:3–5. Birds here are a complex image, which may be connected variously to the souls of the deceased (thus explicitly in G), to celestial praise (in both versions), and probably to the archetypical giant Bird of chs. 6–8. The aquatic connections of birds, both terrestrial and celestial, may be traced in different traditions.

1. *Birds as Souls.* Souls of righteous are identified as birds only in G, and even there not explicitly: the text states that "the plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come," never saying that the birds are the souls. However, there are two arguments in favor of the identification: (1) the statement is made as an answer to the question "What is the plain, and what is the lake, and what is the multitude of birds around it?" (thus, the following question "And the birds?" relates only to the function of the soul-birds, since the function of the lake is explained above); and (2) souls are "living together choir by choir," while the birds similarly "continually sing praise to the Lord." The identification is

lacking in S. However, as we will see below, it was so widely and universally known, that the laconic Greek *Vorlage* of S did not see a need for the explanation added in the later version reflected by G.

The bird flight of the souls of the deceased was a common heritage of Jews and their neighbors (probably rooted in a universal animalistic motif). Egyptians knew of the journey of the soul of the deceased passing through numerous gates in its ascent (e.g., *CT* 44.492).[403] In Egyptian mythology the human soul – *ka* – leaving the body takes a form of a human-headed bird – *ba*, so that the soul can ascend "into the company of the gods, being alive in the bird-shape."[404] The souls live in the "Field of Rushes" (cf. our lake located in an "even plain" in 10:2).[405] The soul goes up "as a swallow" and cackles "as a goose" while ascending to the "great plateau" in the "eastern corner of the sky."[406] In ancient Mesopotamia the dead in "the dark house" are "clothed like birds, with wings for garments" (*ANET* 107). The souls of the kings of Egypt, Assyria and Persia were pictured with birds' wings; similarly the Arabs regarded the soul as a bird, and believed that after death it hovered around the body (Al-Mas'udi, *Golden Meadows* 3.310).[407] These views were shared by at least some Greeks and Romans:

> It [soul] traverses the whole heaven, appearing sometimes in one form and sometimes in another; now when it is perfect and fully winged, it mounts upward and governs the whole world; but the soul which has lost its wings is borne along until it gets hold of something solid. (Plato, *Phaedr.* 246b-c)

Plato also believed in "man to bird" metempsychosis, although prepared not for the righteous but for the "light minded" and empiric students of cosmology:

> And the tribe of birds are derived by transformation, growing feathers in place of hair, from men who are harmless but light-minded – men, too, who, being students of the worlds above, suppose in their simplicity that the most solid proofs about such matters are obtained by the sense of sight. (Plato, *Tim.* 91d)

See also Plato's idea of the pending period for such souls waiting for rebirth on the lake shores (*Phaedo* 609; cited in the previous comm.). As the birds of *3 Baruch* are defined as "pure" in 10:5S, so also Plato's souls return from

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403 See Zandee, *Death*, 25–31, 112–25; Goedicke, "Egyptian;" cf. Bonomi and Sharpe, *Alabaster*; Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian*.

404 Faulkner, *Pyramid*, 1.281, #667A; Book of the Dead, #78; see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 2.295; Wright, *Heaven*. 20.

405 Coffin Text #159 and see 161; Wright, *Heaven*, 22.

406 Coffin Text #190; Wright, *Heaven*, 22.

407 Jastrow Jr., Nowack, Ginzberg, Kohler, "Birds."

their postcarnate journey "descending out of heaven clean and bright" (*Rep*. 10.614). The post-mortem "flight" of the human spirit to heaven, "its proper home and permanent abode," was known to Cicero ("Scipio's Dream," *Resp*. 6.29), Plutarch (*Rom*. 28.6–7), and others (cf. comm. to "as if [borne] on wings" in 2:2 above). Note also a Hellenistic (probably Jewish) epitaph: "This grave hides in its bosom my chaste body, but my soul has flown to the holy ones."[408]

Jews also believed that the soul had the form of a bird and often the flight of the soul is mentioned. The soul is a "bird:" "How will you say to my soul, 'A bird, wander [נודי] to your mountain!" (Ps 11:1; cf. a mountain in place of the lake in S). False prophets "trap souls like birds" (Ezek 13:20). "And the soul may say, 'The body has sinned; for since I am separated from it, I fly in the air like bird'" (*b. Sanh*. 92b). If these might have been considered not more than poetic comparisons, the following gives a more detailed picture:

> The words of Job, "Though he goes up as high as heaven, and his head reaches a cloud" [Job 20:6], refer to the day of death. When a man even reaches heaven and receives wings like a bird, because his death has come, his wings break, and he falls before the angel of death as a cattle before a butcher. (*Tan. B*. Vaethanan 6)

See "Gehennah, in which the wicked flit about like birds" (*Exod. Rab*. 38). Ornimorphic souls, similar to Egyptian *ba*, are known to *3 En*. 44:3: "their faces looked like human faces, but their bodies were like eagles." Moses asks to transform to a bird instead of dying in *Deut. Rab*. 11.9; cf. *y. Moed Q*. 3.82b; *y. Yeb*. 15.15c; *Gen. Rab*. 93.8 and 100.7; *Lev. Rab*. 18.1; and *b. Ket*. 62b. See also "the bird of this world" that cannot pass the river preventing an access to another world (*Hist. Rech*. 2:9; cf. comm. to 2:1).

In light of these parallels the problematic saying of R. Hanina in *b. Moed. Q*. 28b–29a (קשה יציאת נשמה מן הגוף כציפורי בפי הוושט), may be understood literally: "The way out of the body is difficult for the soul like the [fluttering of the] bird in the narrow place [or "gullet"]."[409] This interpretation goes well with the Hebrew term **צפור נפש**, lit. "bird of soul" designating the cartilage at the end of the sternum (*cartilago ensiformis*; *t. Sanh*. 12.3; *b. B. Qam*. 90b). According to *t. Mak*. 5.15 the whip "should not reach the 'bird of his soul,' lest the man dies" (**שלא תגיע לציפר נפשו וימות**).

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[408] Epitaph of Arsinoe of Leontopolis (Horst, *Ancient*, 51).

[409] And not "like whirling waters …" or as Rashi: "like the rope [passing] at the loop-hole of the mast" (in distinct of the following naval simile of R. Yohanan: **כפטירי בפי וושט** "like the top-sail at the loop-hole of the mast").

In late mystical texts the dwelling place of the Messiah's soul until his advent is known as "the Bird's Nest" (*Seder Gan Eden* in *Bet HaMidr.* 3.131–140; *Zohar*, Exod. 2.7b–9a; 3.196b). This might be rooted in a Rabbinic concept of "Guf," a celestial treasure-house of unborn souls (*b. Yeb.* 62a, 63b; *b. Nid.* 13b).[410]

2. *Angelic Birds*. Alternatively, it is possible that S preserves an older reading here, and that the identification of the birds with souls in G is a later misinterpretation (based in its turn as we have seen on the well developed tradition). The birds might initially have been understood as another kind of celestial, probably angelic, beings. Ornimorphic angels (with human faces) are known, e.g., to *3 En.* 2:1; 24:11; 26:3, 47:4. A unique and not fully clear interpretation of Ps 104 ascribed to R. Akiba may refer to an aggadic tradition which could stand behind *3 Baruch* as well. The psalm speaks about the waters that "stood above the mountain" (104:6), bounded to prevent a new Flood (104:9), in connection to the "heavenly birds" (Heb עוף-השמים) dwelling on the springs of water (104:11–12). These birds are explicitly identified with angels:

> "You have set a bound that they may not pass over … He sends the springs into the valleys … Above them dwell the birds of the sky." R. Ishmael and R. Akiba [disagreed]: R. Akiba maintained that "springs" referred to pools in which lepers, whose presence under a roof brings the same degree of uncleanness as a dead body, are required to immerse themselves [when they are healed], and *"the birds of the sky" are the ministering angels*. But R. Ishmael said to R. Akiba, "You ought to give up this kind of exegesis, and turn to the study of the treatises *Signs of Leprosy* and *Tents*." (*Midr. Pss.* 104: 9–12)

3. *Praising Birds*. The birds "assemble, living together choir by choir" (10:5G) and "continually sing praise to the Lord" (10:7G), also according to S they are "praising God unceasingly day and night (10:5S). If the birds are the souls of the just (10:5G), this is in a contradiction to Ps 115:7: "The dead do not praise Lord, nor all those who go down to silence." Singing in heaven and celestial choirs are well attested as a part of the celestial liturgy, but performed by angels rather than by souls or birds (e.g., *1 En.* 40; 60; *2 En.* 7–9; 21; *Apoc. Abr.* 18; *T. Levi* 3:8; *Apoc. Zeph.* 8; *Asc. Isa.* 7–9; and Qumranic *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*). Ornimorphic and probably angelic beings in this function are found in *2 Enoch*, where "phoenixes

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[410] Soul-birds appear in *Disputatio Panagiotae* (probably dependent on *3 Baruch*). Cf. Aptowitzer, "Seele."

and chalkydri" of the sixth heaven "sing in unison" to delight the Lord (*2 En.* 19:6); lower phoenixes and chalkydri also "broke into song at the command of the Lord" to praise the sun (*2 En.* 15:1; 19:6).[411]

4. *Birds and Phoenix*. These birds may be connected to the archetypical Bird of heaven, "Phoenix" of chs. 6–8. See "and the birds seek me" (6:8S; probably only earthly birds awaiting for a signal for the morning song are meant). Phoenix feeds on "the dew of earth" (6:11G), while the birds reside on the source of celestial dew (10:9G; see comm. ibid.). The phoenix-like bird is "the king of birds, for all the birds, as one, in fear did haste to follow after him" (Ezekiel the Tragedian, *Exagoge* 254–69). The Rabbinic counterpart of Phoenix, Ziz, is mentioned as "Ziz of the field and every bird of the mountains" (Rabbinic reading of Ps 50:11; see *Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *b. B. Bat.* 73b; LXX has "birds of heaven," τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, instead). "Phoenixes and chalkydri" of *2 Enoch* combine the functions of Phoenix and the birds of *3 Baruch*: like Phoenix, they accompany the sun (*2 En.* 12:1–2) and like the birds of the lake, they are connected to dew water (*2 En.* 12:2) and sing praises to God (*2 En.* 15:1; 19:6).

5. *Birds and water.* Birds of ancient lore are closely connected to water. "He made all kinds of birds, as sister kinds to those in the waters" (Philo, *Opif.* 20.63). The birds are created from water mixed with ground (cf. *b. Hul.* 27b; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 4.35a; *Tan. B.* 4.112; *Tan.* Hukkat 6; *Eccl. Rab.* 7.23; *Num. Rab.* 19.3). The birds of *3 Baruch* are set on the lake of the heavenly dew and productive rain. The task of the multiple "phoenixes and chalkydri" of *2 Enoch* (12:1–2) is to "carry heat and dew."

10:3. *Crane* (γέρανος / жєравъ). Among the birds of "all species" Baruch specifically mentions the crane. The crane (probably Biblical Heb עגור or סוס; Rabbinic כורכיא) is not listed among the birds forbidden for food (Lev 11; Deut 14), and it accords with the definition "pure birds" of 10:5S (see comm. below). "These birds [cranes] migrate from the steppes of Scythia to the marshlands south of Egypt where the Nile has its source" (Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 12); they gather in large flocks and reside in Palestine only in summer (cf. comm. to 10:2, end). Jeremiah noticed that the crane, with some other bird species, "observe the time of their coming" (Jer 8:7). It is the largest bird seen in Palestine, and it is its size which is

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411 Cf. earthly birds uttering verbal praise to their Creator (as well as other creatures) in *Perek Shira*.

stressed in *3 Baruch*: "a crane [as large] as great oxen" in G and "very large [birds], similar to a crane" in S. The crane was known for its strong voice (cf. Isa 38:14), which became proverbial (cf. "cry like a crane" in *y. Dem.* 2.22c; *b. Kid.* 49a). This feature may be connected to the main function of the birds, "continually singing praise" (10:7G/10:5S) or to the cry of the departing soul which is so strong that it overthrows trees ("it breaks down cedars, it breaks down oaks;" *Gen. Rab.* 6.7). Images on coins and ancient gems demonstrate the popularity of the bird.[412]

There are South Slavic folklore accounts (according to Gura, of Greek origin), where men may transform into cranes and vice versa. This metamorphosis takes place when they bathe in a special lake.[413]

10:5S. *Pure birds*. The reading occurs only in S. Previously translated as "shining,"[414] CS ꙗс(ь)нъ "clear, clean" might render Gk καθαρός "pure."[415] Gk ὄρνεον καθαρόν renders Heb צפור טהרה of Deut 14:11 and Gk πετεινόν καθαρόν comes for Heb עוף טהור in Deut 14:20. This combination is rare in Greek and appears mainly in sources influenced by Jewish and Christian traditions,[416] Heb pl. עופות טהורים for ritually clean birds is widely used in Rabbinc sources (*m. Makshir.* 6.3; *t. Ohal.* 12.3; *Hul.* 2.14; 8.11; *Kel.* 7.5; etc.). Philo considered clean birds to be of especially noble and pure nature comparable to that of celestial bodies:

> But the fifth substance only is made unmixed and pure, for which reason it is not of a nature to be divided. Wherefore it is well said that "the birds he did not divide" [Gen 15:10] since, as in the case of birds, it is the nature of celestial bodies … to be elevated and to resemble both [kinds of] clean birds, the turtle-dove and the dove, which do not admit of cutting or division, since they belong to the simpler and unmixed fifth substance … (Philo, *Quaest. Gen.* 3.6)

A subtext of a talmudic saying that "the clean birds dwell with the righteous" may belong to the tradition presented in *3 Baruch*:

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412 Imhoof-Blumer, Keller, *Tier*, pls. 6.3; 6.6, 7; 22.2, 12, 17, and 24.8.

413 Gura, *Simvolika*, 647, 658.

414 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 111.

415 Srezn, 3.1668. Cf. *LPG*, 684–5.

416 Cf. Apollonius who calls pigeons "pure birds of God" – ὄρνεα καθαρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ (*Apotelesmata* 1389.1; the same work has Hebrew forms on 1384.7). Cf. τὰ καθαρὰ ὄρνεα ιν τί σημαίνει ἕκαστον τῶν ζῳδίων καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τίνων δεσπόζουσι (e cod. Laur. plut. 28, 34, fol. 155), l. 64 (Ludwich, *Maximi*, 119–122); cf. also Jerome, *Adv. Luc.* 22.

> Also he [Noah] sent out a dove from him, to see if the waters had receded [Gen 8:8]. R. Jeremiah said, "This proves that the clean birds dwell with the righteous [מכאן שדירתן של עופות טהורים עם הצדיקים]." (*b. Sanh.* 108b)[417]

A Rabbinic equivalent of Phoenix, Ziz is also known as a "clean bird" fit for the eschatological banquet (זיז עוף טהור הוא; *Gen. Rab.* 19.4 and par.). The late account on the Hebrew tribes living beyond the Sambation river probably preserves an echo of the tradition of a remote lake with "all species" (cf. 10:3G) of "pure birds" on it:

> And they [the tribes] assembled to the lake, and saturated their land from them [springs and lake]. And that lake teemed with all kinds of fish, and all species of clean birds flew on the springs and the lake [ועל המעינות ועל האגם יפרחו כל מיני עופות טהורים]. (*Gen. Rabbati*, Vayetse).

Excursus: Cosmic Hydrology Continued (10:8–9)

Greek	Slavonic
8 And I Baruch said, "Lord, and how is that men say that the water that rains is from the sea?"	8 And I said, "How is it that men say that clouds come down to the sea and take water and rain?"
9 And the angel said,	9 And the angel told me,
	"The race of men is mistaken,
"There is rain also from the sea, and from the waters upon earth, and this one; but that which produces the fruits is from here. Know, thus, from now on that from this comes what is called the dew of heaven."	for all the water of the sea is salty, so that if it rained by the sea [water], a fruit would not grow on earth. But know [pl.] that clouds are from that lake and they rain."

NOTES

10:9G. *From here* (ἐκ τούτου). Or "from this [place]." Cf. ἀπὸ τούτου "from there" (11:1).

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417 This is deduced from the words "from him," which is not mentioned in connection with the raven.

COMMENTARY

The sources of rain and dew are of common interest for apocalyptic visionaries. Enoch was shown "the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there I saw from where they proceed in that place and from where they saturate the dusty earth" (*1 En.* 41:3). Moses also was shown "the place from which the clouds draw up water to water the whole earth, and the place from which the river takes its water" as well as "the place in the firmament from which only the Holy Land drinks" (*Bib. Ant.* 19:10; it is unclear whether the first two sources are located in heaven, as the last one, or on earth, as "the land of Egypt" mentioned inbetween).

Rain. This might be a Mesopotamian idea that the rainwater is kept in special celestial reservoirs.[418] The idea of "heavenly waters" appears in Greek and Roman writings until the relatively late times (from *War of Titans* 4 [apud Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 7.277D] to Ovid, *Fast.* 4.386). It is also found in the Bible (Gen 1:6–7; Job 38:37; Deut 28:12). Other meteorological elements are also stored in heaven (Jer 10:13; 51; 16; Ps 135:7; *1 En.* 41:3–4; 76; *2 En.* 3–6; *T. Levi* 3:2; *b. Hag.* 12b). Similarly to our lake, the "upper water" (מים עליונים) of Rabbinic tradition was known as a source of the rain: "There is something like a box [קובה] in the firmament from which the rains issue" (*b. Taan.* 8b); "The upper water is suspended by the word,[419] and their fruit is rain water, as it is said, 'the earth is sated from the fruit of your work' [Ps 104:13]" (*b. Taan.* 10a). This water treasury was the objective of the Tower builders according to *b. Sanh.* 109a: "They said, 'Let us build a tower, ascend to heaven, and cleave it with axes, that its waters might gush forth.'" Some Church Fathers also held to this biblical conception (Isidorus, *Nat.* 14.1–2).[420] Cf. comm. to "sea" in 4:3S/4:6G.

However, the conception that the heavenly water is the one "which the clouds receive and rain upon earth" (*3 Bar.* 10:6) contradicted the new Hellenistic views (which must have become popular – as indicated by the expression "men say" in 10:8), according to which "the water that rains is from the sea" (10:8G), or more in detail, "clouds come down to the sea and take water and rain" (10:8S). The latter theory was known already to the Pre-Socratics:

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418 Cf. *Enuma Elish* 4–5; see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 5.344.

419 Cf. "much water suspended" in the first heaven (*T. Levi* 2:7).

420 Cf. Hoffmann, *Anschauungen*, 5–13.

> The sea is the source of water and the source of wind; for neither would blasts of wind arise in the clouds and blow out from within them, except for the great sea, nor would the streams of rivers nor the rain-water in the sky exist but for the sea; but the great sea is the begetter of clouds and winds and rivers. (Xenophanes, *Frag.* 11; *DK* 1.125, 20–23).

Aristotle even argues with the people "supposing that water, snow, and hail existed all along and were produced when the time came and not generated at all, as if the atmosphere brought each to hand out of its stock from time to time" (*Meteor.* 2.9.). His water cycle is completely terrestrial (ibid. 1.3). On the origin of clouds and rain see also Lucretius 6.495–523; Vitruvius 8.2.1–4; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.111; Isidorus, *Orig.* 13.7.1–2; 13.10.2–3; *Nat.* 32.1–2; 33.1–3.

The conflict between the traditional and new views is documented by the Rabbis. Here both sides resort to the textual authority of the Bible:

> And from where does the earth drink? R. Eliezer and R. Yehoshua [disagreed]. R. Eliezer said, "From the waters of the Ocean, as it is written, 'But there went up a mist from the earth and watered, etc.' [ואיד יעלה מן הארץ והשקה; Gen 2:6]." R. Yehoshua told him, "But are not the waters of the Ocean salty?" He [R. Eliezer] said, "They are sweetened in the clouds, as it is written, 'Which the clouds distil' [אשר יזלו שחקים; Job 36:28]. Where are they distilled? In the clouds [שחקים]. R. Yehoshua said, "[The earth drinks] from the upper waters [ממים העיליונים], for it is written, "And [the land] drinks water from the rain of heaven [למטר השמים תשתה מים; Deut 11:11). The clouds, however, mount up to heaven and receive them [the waters] as from the mouth of a bottle [כמפי הנוד], as it is written, 'They gather up rain into its cloud' [יזוקו מטר לאידו; Job 36:27]? They distil it as from a sieve, not one drop touches another, as it is written, 'Distilling waters [from] the thick clouds' [חשרת מים עבי שחקים; 2 Sam 22:12]." Why are they [the clouds] called *shehaqim*? Resh Lakish said, 'Because they break up [*shohaqim*] the water [into drops].' R. Abba b. Kahana said, "They do this like the entrails of an animal." R. Yohanan and Resh Lakish [disagreed]. R. Yohanan said, "Clouds come from above, as it is written, 'And behold, with the clouds of heaven'" [וארו עם ענני שמיא; Dan. 7:13). Resh Lakish said, "Clouds come from below, as said, 'Who causes the vapors [clouds] to ascend from the end of the earth [מעלה נשיאים מקצה הארץ; Ps 135:7]?'" (*Gen. Rab.* 13.10–11; cf. *Eccl. Rab.* 1.7; *b. Taan.* 9b)

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan agrees with the Aristotelian views of R. Eliezer and Resh Lakish:

> And a cloud of glory descended from the Throne of glory, and was filled with waters from the Ocean, and afterward went up from earth, and gave rain to come down and water all the face of the ground. (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 2:6)

See also *Gen. Rab.* 12.3 (R. Joseph: "though the rain falls from heaven, its creation is from the earth"); *b. Menah.* 69a; and *b. Erub.* 45b. The origin of clouds from the sea is especially obvious for Palestine, where rain clouds

are often seen arising "from the west," that is, from the sea (1 Kgs 18:44; Luke 12:54; *2 Bar.* 53:1).

The idea of the salt waters distilled in clouds (as in *Genesis Rabba* above) was known already to Hippocrates (who provides the first detailed description of the theory of rain):

> Rain waters, then, are the lightest, the sweetest, the thinnest, and the clearest; for originally the sun raises and attracts the thinnest and lightest part of the water, as is obvious from the nature of salts; for the saltish part is left behind owing to its thickness and weight, and forms salts. (Hippocrates, *Aer.* 8).

The Greek version of *3 Baruch* aims to harmonize the traditional doctrines of heavenly waters with new Hellenistic meteorological science. It solves this problem in a creative way: resorting to a traditionally known Jewish dichotomy of productive and non-productive waters, G claims that both doctrines are right, since there are three kinds of rain: "There is rain also from the sea, and from the waters upon earth, and this one; but that which produces the fruits is from here" (10:9G). The idea that only rain water is productive might have been derived from Gen 2:5: "And no shrub of the field was yet in the earth, and no plant of the field had yet sprouted, for the Lord God had not sent rain upon the earth." Cf. "R. Hiyya taught: In both places [Eden and earth] nothing grew until rain descended upon them" (*Gen. Rab.* 13.1). The problem of productive (or masculine waters from heaven) vs. unproductive (or feminine waters from the abyss) irrigation is widely known in early Jewish science:

> And in those days the punishment will come from the Lord of Spirits, and he will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth. And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. (*1 En.* 54:7–8)

Cf. *t. Taan.* 1.4; *y. Taan.* 1.64b; *b. Taan.* 6b; *y. Ber.* 9.14a *Gen. Rab.* 13.14; 32.7; and *Pirqe R. El.* 5; 23. Ginzberg suggested that the whole idea of sexual dichotomy of waters must go back to the Babylonian conception of Apsu and Tiamat.[421] However, the development of this concept into the belief that only the rain water can be productive, which is plausible in Palestine with agriculture based on rain watering, could hardly be applied to the irrigation cultures of Mesopotamia or Egypt.

Rains of blessing were believed to come only from the south (*Pesiq. R.* 46; *Pirqe R. El.* 1; *Num. Rab.* 2.10). Some believed that the rains from the "Good Treasury" (**אוצר טוב**) ceased to exist after the destruction of Jerusa-

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[421] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.182.

lem (*b. B. Bat.* 25b), so Baruch's vision could have been intended to prove the opposite (cf. comm. to ch. 11 on similar beliefs on the "Gate of Prayers" supposed to be closed since the destruction and Baruch's witnessing of its openings).

In S there is no trace of an attempt to compromise between the two schools: "The race of men is mistaken, … know [pl.] that clouds are from that lake and they rain" (10:9S). Not only its position, but even its argumentation are identical to what R. Yehoshua states: "All the water of the sea is salty, so that if it rained by the sea [water], a fruit would not grow on earth" (*Gen. Rab.* 13.10 cited above).

Both S and even compromising G reject the Greek idea of the closed water circle. Rain water or at least some of it (as in G) is constantly added from a heavenly store. This makes it necessary to introduce a mechanism for getting rid of the superfluous water, which is indeed enabled by the drinking Serpent of chs. 4–5, since "if Serpent did not drink one cubit from the sea [each day], there would be no dry land on earth" (4:5S, family β; see Notes and cf. introductory comm. to ch 11: *Celestial Bestiary* 3.1).

Dew. In addition to the rain, "from this [celestial lake] comes what is called the dew of heaven." The dew of heaven (10:9G; as well as "the dew of earth" in 6:11G) is mentioned only in G. The word combination occurs in Gen 27:28, 39; Dan 4:12; 20; 22; 30; and 5:21. The dew was known to be stored in heaven: "The spirit of the dew dwells at the ends of heaven, close to the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and in summer" (*1 En.* 60:20). See *2 En.* 5–6 on the celestial treasures of snow, ice, clouds, and dew. The revenue of the sun and celestial birds of praise, phoenixes and chalkydri, are those who "carry heat and dew" (ibid. 12:2). "The dew is descending from heaven" causing the grass to spring from the earth in the eighth hour of the night (*T. Adam* 1:8), just before angelic praise and human prayer (ninth and tenth hours; ibid. 1:9–10). Abraham sees dew most probably under the highest fiery heaven together with "a fire spread out and light," and "a multitude of angels, and a power of the invisible glory from the Living Creatures" (*Apoc. Abr.* 19:4). The storehouses of dew are unlocked on Passover (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 27:1–6; *Pirqe R. El.* 36).

There may be a connection between the dew here and the oil of ch. 15G.[422] They both play a role in the destiny of the righteous: the pious souls

[422] Both dew and oil are consistently absent in S everywhere: "dew of earth" as a food of Phoenix in 6:11 (only manna is mentioned); "dew of heaven" in 10:9 (only rain); oil in 15:1 and 2 (substituted by mercy).

reside on the lake of dew (10:5G), and the oil is the reward of the pious (probably posthumously). This must be due to the fact that the both are known to be means of resurrection. Concerning the resurrective "oil of life," see comm. to 15:1. As for the dew, in Rabbinic sources it must be an equivalent of the "oil of life" in its resurrective and healing power; see *y. Ber.* 5.2.9b; *y. Taan.* 1.63d; *b. Shab* 88b; *b. Hag.* 12b; *b. Ket.* 111b; *Cant. Rab.* 5.6; *Mek.* Bahodesh Yitro 9; *Midr. HaG.* 1.430 to Gen 27:28; *Pesiq. R.* 20; *Pirqe R. El.* 32–34; *Tan. B.* Toledot 19, some with reference to Isa 26:19 interpreted as "a dew of herbs [or "lights"] is your dew, and the earth will cast off the spirits of the dead [כי טל אורת טלך וארץ רפאים תפיל]."[423] Healing dew is known to Hos 14:6 and *2 Baruch*:

> For winds will go forth from before me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health (29:7) … And then healing will descend in dew, And disease will withdraw. And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men. And gladness proceed through the whole earth. And no one shall again die untimely … (73:2–3)

Dew and oil are likened in *2 Enoch*: in order to be transformed into a heavenly being, Enoch is anointed by the oil which "ointment is *like sweet dew*" (*2 En.* 22:9). Heavenly dew also is *like oil* and is similar to flowers: "They [angels] showed me the treasure-house of the dew, like oil of the olive, and the appearance of its image, as of all the flowers of the earth" (*2 En.* 6:1; cf. "flowers" exchanged to oil or mercy in *3 Bar.* 12:1, 5; 15:2–3). See also "*mercy like dew* upon earth" (*1 En.* 39:5; "mercy" replaces "oil" in S; on "oil" and "mercy," Gk ὄλαιον and ὄλεος, see comm. to 15:1).[424]

In *3 Baruch*, Phoenix, a symbol of immortality in Greek tradition, feeds on manna and dew (6:11G). However, there it is called "dew of earth" (6:11G). Does the terrestial dew differ from the celestial one? Are there two kinds of dew? If it was the same, Phoenix could belong to the birds of the fourth heaven (or as Harlow carefully formulates, "that has access to the lake in the fourth heaven";[425] cf. comm. to "birds" in 10:3–5: "Birds and Phoenix"). However, the parallels show that the dichotomy of two sorts of dew was well known. *Jub.* 26:23 even modifies the verse of Gen 27:28 in order to discern two kinds of dew: "And may the Lord give you of *the dew of heaven* and of *the dew of the earth* [instead of "richness of earth" of Gen 27:28 and 39], and plenty of corn and oil [instead of "wine"]." See the

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423 Rain and resurrection are also frequently juxtaposed; see, e.g., *y. Ber.* 5.2.9a; *y. Taan.* 1.1.63c; *b. Ber.* 33a; *Taan.* 7a; *Deut. Rab.* 7.6.

424 Cf. also oil and dew united in Ps 133:3.

425 Harlow, *Baruch*, 145.

text, "And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. And Isaac answered and said to him: 'Behold, your dwelling will be far from *the dew of the earth* and far from *the dew of heaven* from above'" (*Jub.* 26:33). "The dew of the earth" is adduced among created terrestial "gatherings of waters:"

> And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth. (*Jub.* 2:7)

There was also a similar dichotomy of "good" and "bad" dews. Enoch saw "winds coming from the middle of the twelve portals bringing beneficial dew of prosperity; from other portals, hurtful dew accompanied by locusts and other calamities" (*1 En.* 76:8). Also in the Talmud, there is a distinction between "harmful dews" of the sixth heaven ("*Makhon* is that in which are the treasures of hail, and the high dwelling-place of harmful dews and the high dwelling-place of round drops [עליית טללים רעים ועליית עגלים]") and "the dew with which the Holy One is about to quicken mortals" of the seventh heaven, *Arabot* (*b. Hag.* 12b). The prayers against hurtful dews are mentioned in *Lev. Rab.* 28 and *b. Suk.* 37b.[426]

V. Angelic Service or *Retribution Mechanism*

Where Prayers Go (11)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taking me from here the angel brought me to the fifth heaven.	1 And the angel of host took me and carried me to the fifth heaven,
2 And he showed me large gates, and names of men were written [on them],	
2 And the gate was closed. And I said, "Lord, this gate-tower is not opening so that we can enter?" And the angel told me, "We cannot enter until Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom of Heaven, comes. But wait and you will see the Glory of God."	and they were closed. And I said, "Will these gates be opened so that we can enter them?" And the angel told me, "We cannot enter them until Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom, comes." And the angel told me, "Wait and you will see the Glory of God,"
	3 And while we were waiting,

[426] God's favor is often is pictured as the dew. For a survey of the image of dew in the Bible, see Bulgarelli, *L'immagine*. Cf. Uval, "Dew." Dew was also one of the signs of Baal's beneficent rule (*CTA* 19.41–46; 3.2.38–41; cf. Deut 33:28; Isa 26:29).

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3 And there was a great sound,	there was a sound
	from the highest heaven
like thunder.	like a threefold thunder.
And I said, "Lord, what is this sound?"	And I Baruch said, "Lord, what is this sound?"
4 And he told me, "Now Michael,	4 And he told me, "Michael
the commander-in-chief,	
is coming down to receive the prayers of men."	is coming down to receive the prayers of men."
5 And behold, a voice came, "Let the gates be opened!" And they opened, and there was a shriek [as loud] as thunder.	5 And then a voice came, saying that the gates should open, and they opened. And there was a great sound,
	greater than the first.
6 And Michael came, and the angel who was with me went to meet him and bowed to him	6 And Michael came, and the angel who was with me met him and bowed to him.
and said, "Hail, my commander-in-chief, and that of all our order!" 7 And the commander-in-chief Michael said, "Hail you also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life rightly!"	
8 And having greeted one another thus, they stood still.	
And I saw the commander-in-chief Michael, holding a very large flat bowl. Its depth was like [the distance] from heaven to earth, and its width like [the distance] from north to south. And I said, "Lord, what is it that Michael the archangel is holding?"	8 And I saw him holding a very large receptacle, and its depth was like [the distance] from heaven to earth, and its width like [the distance] from east to west. And I said, "Lord, what is Michael holding?"
9 And he told me, "This is where the virtues of the righteous enter, and the good works that they do, which are brought through it before the heavenly God."	9 And he told me, "This is where the prayers of men enter."

NOTES

11:3S. *Like a threefold thunder* (**ꙗко громъ тришьдъı**). It might render Gk τρισμὸς ὡς βροντῆς "shriek like thunder" (as in 11:5G) understood as ὡς τρὶς βροντῆς.[427] Cf. βροντὴ ὡς ἦχος βροντῆς of *3 Bar.* 6:13 (see note ibid.) and ὡς φωνῇ βροντῆς of Rev 6:1 and 14:2. Alternatively, the triple sound may imply *qedusha/trisagion*. See "in a great sound of sanctification" (**въ мнози гласѣ свѧ̑тъбъı**) in *Apoc. Abr.* 16:3 (cf. 18:4). "Great sound" (**гласъ вельи**) appears also in 11:5S. Gk φωνῆ μεγάλη, Heb קול גדול is a well attested biblical combination (e.g., Isa 29:6) widely used in descriptions of angelic sanctification in Hekhalot literature.[428]

11:4. *Michael the commander-in-chief* [om. S] *is coming* (ἄρτι κατέρχεται ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαήλ / **се съ҆ходитъ михаилъ**). Cf. the verbs κατῆλθεν "came" or "went down"' in 15:1 and ἀπῆλθεν "left" or "went up" in 14:1. On the suggestion of the horizontal motion of Baruch between the firmaments, see comm. to "wings" in 2:2.

Prayers. Gk δέησις is one of many Greek words meaning "prayer," more precisely "entreaty, supplication," also "written petition."

11:7G. *Order* (τάγμα). Also "military formation," "legion."

11:8G. *Heavenly God* (τοῦ ἐπουρανίου θεοῦ). This epithet of God goes back to Homer (only with gods; *Od*. 17.484; *Il*. 6.129; and *passim*), but is also found in many Jewish and Christian sources (3 Macc 6:28; 7:6; *Sib. Or.* 1:216; 4:51, 135; *T. Abr.* (A) 2:3; Matt 18:35; Phil. 2:11; *1 Clem*. 61:2).

11:9G. *Which are brought through it* (ἅτινα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκομίζονται). Usually translated "carried in it." Gk δι' αὐτου means rather "through it." The distinction may be relevant; cf. comm. to "flat bowl" in 11:8 and to 11:9.

COMMENTARY

*Ouranology**

The scene at the gate (chs. 11–16) is a culmination of the whole vision, the last and the longest of its sections. "It effectively combines the main themes of the apocalypse: the individual eschatology as a substitute for the restoration of Jerusalem and the Temple; the existential limits to the human efforts to attain transcendence; the emphasis on good works as the only means to access to God's glory; and the divine maintenance of the cosmic order."[429]

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427 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 121.

428 See Schäfer, *Synopse*, ## 390N, 476M2, 517N, 553M2.

429 Harlow, *Baruch*, 148.

* The section is based on my article Kulik, "Enigma."

To this may be added also the consolatory message of the unceasing existence of the heavenly Temple liturgy, which is immune to destruction, in contrast to the earthly Temple service.[430]

This scene takes place at the ultimate point of Baruch's ascent. The uniqueness of *3 Baruch*'s ouranology among other early Jewish and Christian writings lies in the fact that the visionary reaches the fifth heaven as his final destination, and does not mention any additional firmaments. At the same time, while referring to different stages of the ascent and the heavenly structure in general, the text abounds with inconsistencies and contradictions, both between the two versions, and internally within each.

(1) There is an inconsistency in the numbering of the heavens: G speaks of the first (2:2), second (3:1), third (10:1), and then the fifth heaven (11:1), omitting the fourth. S gives numbers to the first two heavens (2:2; 3:1) and then the fifth (11:1), but omits both the third and fourth.
(2) Other indications of intercelestial transfer do not conform to the numbering and are not consistent between the versions. These indications are: celestial gates, a journey through the gates, and a plain behind the gates. Celestial gates or doors signal ascents in G and S: the first (2:2), the second (3:1); the fifth (11:2; the same gate is mentioned also in 11:5; 14:1; 15:1; 17:1) and in S also the third (4:2; the heaven unnumbered). Journies appear three times in both versions: the first (2:2), the second (3:1) and the third ascent (4:2; the heaven unnumbered). Plains signal four ascents in G – the first (2:3), the second (3:3), the third (4:3; the heaven unnumbered) and the fourth (10:2, 4, and 5; the heaven numbered as the third). S has "plain" only twice: in the first (2:3, 4, 5) and the third (4:3) ascents, while on the second there is "great chamber" and in the fourth "mountain" instead of "plain."

	Ascent[431]		Number		Gate		Journey		Plain	
G	S	G	S	G	S	G	S	G	S	
2:2–3	*1	*1	1	1	+	+	+	+	+	+
3:1–2	*2	*2	2	2	+	+	+	+	+	–
4:2	*3	*3	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
10:1	*4	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
11:1	*5	*4	5	5	+	+	–	–	–	–

[430] Wright, *Heaven*, 174.

Additional confusion in numbering, and in the order of transitions, is caused by 7:2, where G says that "the sun passes in the third heaven" (7:2G; only the heaven of the "lake of birds," beyond the luminaries, is numbered as "third" below; 10:1G), while S relates the route of the sun to "what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens" (7:2S), although previously the three inter-celestial transitions are mentioned in both versions.

At least some of these problems could be explained by negligence during editorial interventions. It looks as though the ouranology presented in the proto-text was not satisfactory or detailed enough for later redactors. The situation could be complicated by the fact that some of the larger fragments, containing among other things indications of intercelestial transitions, may be suspected as having been interpolated. In this case, the subsequent editorial emendations could come to compensate for the problems that arose as a result of these interpolations. Fortunately, the emendations were not consistent enough, and rudiments of the initial text have been preserved. Moreover, the two extant redactions (Greek and Slavonic) present different stages of this elaboration. These two factors enable us at least to glimpse into the original cosmology of the writing. The main questions we are trying to answer are as follows: (a) how many firmaments were in the heaven of *3 Baruch*; (b) to what point has the visionary ascended; and (c) how do these data vary between the late redactions (reflected in the extant texts of G and S) and their proto-text (to the extent we can reconstruct its elements)? As we will see below, depending on different interpretations, the extant versions may reflect seven- or fivefold celestial structures, while the proto-text must have referred to another, probably older, model of three heavens (or "two plus one").[432]

1. Non-complete Ascent

Did Baruch enter the last mentioned heaven, whatever the original number of heavens may have been? As we can see from the table above, the description of Baruch's ascent to the last heaven offers no indications of an intercelestial transfer, such as those that appear after his entry into the other heavens: only the gate is mentioned but neither a journey through it, nor a plain or anything behind it.[433] Although these indications are not consistently used with other heavens as well, this is the only case in which both in-

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[431] In these columns the ascents are numbered in the order of appearance of any indication of an ascent.

[432] More on cosmology, including ouranological issues, see Introduction.

[433] Thus Wright (*Heaven*, 172).

dications are absent in both versions. One more difference between the last heaven from the previous ones is the term used to designate its opening. It is the only one called "gate" (Gk πύλη; CS **врата**) or even "gate-tower" (Gk πυλών) in distinction to "doors" (Gk θύρα, CS **двьри**) above (cf. comm. to "very large door" in 2:2).

Harlow suggests that "although Baruch's passage is not explicitly noted, it is nevertheless clearly implied in 11:5–8."[434] In fact, this assumption is not necessary. According to the plain meaning of the text, Baruch does not enter the fifth gate, which must be the final limit of Baruch's ascent. A rationale of the non-complete ascent may be found in the conceptions of inaccessible supercelestial realm and/or inner shrine of the celestial Temple.

God is known to reside above the heavens (Ps 57:6, 12; 108:6; 113:4; Job 11:8; 22:12). An extra heaven exceeding the typological number of seven is found mainly as the eighth heaven added to the most popular sevenfold structure (see "Alternative Cosmologies" below), but the idea could be applied to any number of heavens. The authenticity of this popular concept was defended by Origen:

> Celsus in the next place alleges that "certain Christians, having misunderstood the words of Plato, loudly boast of a 'supercelestial' God, thus ascending beyond the heaven of the Jews." … nor was the philosopher the first to present to view the 'supercelestial' place; for David long ago brought to view the profundity and multitude of the thoughts concerning God entertained by those who have ascended above visible things, when he said in the book of Psalms: "Praise God, you heaven of heavens and you waters that be above the heavens, let them praise the name of the Lord." I do not, indeed, deny that Plato learned from certain Hebrews the words quoted from the *Phaedrus* [27], or even, as some have recorded, that he quoted them from a perusal of our prophetic writings, when he said, "No poet here below has ever sung of the supercelestial place, or ever will sing in a becoming manner," and so on. (*Cels*. 6.19)

The concept of the supercelestial world could be interlaced with the idea of the celestial Sanctuary and its inner shrines. The supercelestial "intelligible world" as opposed to "sense-perceptible heaven" were regarded by Philo as counterparts of accessible and inaccessible areas of the terrestial sanctuary:

> The simple holy [parts of the tabernacle] are classified with the sense-perceptible heaven, whereas the inner [parts], which are called the Holy of Holies, [are classified] with the intelligible world. (Philo, *Quaest. Exod*. 2.94)

Josephus also states that the Tent was "an imitation of the nature of the universe" with its "heaven set apart to God":

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[434] Harlow, *Baruch*, 147 (cf. 36). The view is shared among others by James ("Baruch,"li); Hughes ("Baruch," 527); Ryssel ("Baruch"); Collins, *Apocalyptic*, 199.

> It happened that such an arrangement of the Tent was also an imitation of the nature of the universe [μίμησιν τῆς τῶ βὅλων φύσεως]. For its third part, which is within the four pillars, which was inaccessible to the [ordinary] priests like heaven set apart to God [ὡς οὐρανὸς ἀνεῖτο τῷ θεῷ], while the twenty cubits, just as earth and sea are accessible to men, were thus consigned to the priests alone. (*Ant.* 3.123)

On the Tent or Temple as a kind of microcosm, see also Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.12.66; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.181; *Pesiq. R.* 5; and *Num. Rab.* 12.13. On angels as priests and celestial Yom Kippur service in *3 Baruch*, see the introductory comm. to chs. 12 and 14 respectively.

As noticed by Harlow, there are a number of dramatic elements in this scene, such as (1) dialogues (not only between Baruch and his guide, but also between angels), (2) entrances and departures of Michael and three groups of angels (some signaled by different sounds; see 11:5; 14:1), (3) presupposed off-stage reality, for which Michael leaves and from where he comes back.[435] This dramatism is also characteristic of liturgical performances. The Temple imagery and semi-priestly activity are obvious in this scene, and the writing must refer to the widely known motif of the celestial Temple.[436] Baruch receives his revelation at the gates of the destroyed earthly Temple (T:2), and its ultimate scene takes place at the gates of the indestructible celestial Temple.[437] This may explain why, in contrast to the previous heavens, when the gate opens here, Baruch and his guide do not pass through it, but wait for the chief angel to descend and greet them. Just as restrictions apply to attendants of the earthly Temple, the protagonist does not have access to the inner shrines of the heavenly Temple to which only the priests (angels), or even only to the high priest (Michael), are permitted entry. Not only the Temple of Jerusalem had forbidden areas (for gentiles, women, profane Israelites, ordinary priests, and even the high priest for the most of the year), but also many pagan temples had their sacra inaccessible for the profane or impure.[438] Celestial sites inaccessible to humans, or to most humans, are mentioned in Gen 3:24 and *1 En.* 19:3 (see also comm. to 11:2S: *Michael the Gatekeeper*). Even the visionaries of a higher level of initiation, who in distinction to Baruch were allowed to

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435 Harlow, *Baruch*, 147.

436 For the widely developed motif of the heavenly Temple see, e.g., Philo *Spec. Leg.*1.12.66; *2 Bar.* 4; *T. Levi* 5; Rev 7:15; *t. Yoma* 4.6; *Mek.*, (Bahodesh, Yitro 9); *Gen. Rab.* 1.4; 69.7; *b. Yoma* 54b; *b. Sanh.* 94b; *Pesiqta R.* 20.4; *Tan.* Naso 19; *Tan.* Qedoshim 10; *Tg.* Isa 1:1-6; *Tg.* 1 Chr 21:15. Cf. McNicol, "Heavenly." See also introductory comm. to ch. 12 and the commentaries below.

437 Thus Wright, *Heaven,* 174.

438 Bickerman, "Warning," 389, n. 12.

ascend higher or at least to see the Glory, are said to have stopped at some earlier stage. Enoch stops before the gate of the "second house," although observing the Divine Glory dwelling in it from outside (*1 En.* 14:25). Moses does not reach the Throne, probably visiting only the lower heaven from where, like Baruch, he is shown the celestial sources of water (*Bib. Ant.* 19:10). Angels prevent Moses' ascent (*b. Shab.* 88b–89a; *Pesiq. R.* 20; cf. an Aramaic poem '*Angele Meroma* describing how Moses is trying to enter the gates of heaven, but is kept out by angels.[439] Ministering angels "sought to thrust away" R. Akiba during his ascent (*b. Hag.* 15b). Paul stops in the gate to the third heaven, which similarly to our gate has inscriptions – "golden letters" – on it. The gate restricts entrance to those "who have goodness and purity of body" (*Apoc. Paul* 19; cf. 24). Hekhalot tours are known to be aborted before the gate of the sixth or seventh Palaces, the most dangerous points for those who are "unfit to see the King and his Throne" (*Hekh. Zut.* ##408–409; *Hekh. Rab.* #259). Indeed, "at the entrance to the seventh Palace stand and rage all heroes" (*Hekh. Rab.* #213). All these may witness that the "gate standing" could be a topos of describing apocalyptic experience and moreover could define the status of a visionary; see "R. Akiba said, 'Ben Azai was found worthy and stood at the gate of the sixth Palace'" (*Hekh. Zut.*, ms New York 23a). In the following parable a Palestinian Amora R. Yudan might imply and even polemicize against such a "gate standing" pending angelic intercession:

> If a human has a patron, and then he finds himself in trouble, he does not enter his [patron's] house suddenly, but *he comes and stands in his patron's door and calls his servant or a member of his household* [אלא בא ועמד לו על פתחו של פטרונו וקורא לעבדו או לבן ביתו] and says, "So-and-so is standing at the door of your court." *He may be let in, and he may be not*. But the Holy One is not so. If trouble comes upon a person, let him cry neither to *Michael or to Gabriel*, but let him cry unto me, and I will answer him. This is the meaning of the verse: "Whoever calls on the name of the Lord will be delivered" [Joel 2:32]. (*y. Ber.* 9.13a)[440]

However, our author seems not to share this conception, and the visionary is deprived of direct communication with God. His ultimate vision is the "gates of prayer," an image also well attested in Jewish literature. Lamentations ascend to the "gate of heaven" in *1 En.* 9:10. Heavenly gates open in the constant time (the 10th hour of night) to receive the prayers of men (*T. Adam* 1:10 cited in 6:13S).

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[439] Ginsburger, "Introductions," 15–16, 186–194; Heinemann, "Seridim," 363–365.

[440] The parable must be regarded in a wider context of the customary prayer to and worship of angels. On this and on angelic intercession see in comm. to ch. 12. and to 11:4.

The theme of the "gates of prayer" (Heb שערי התפילה), their opening and closing, is well developed in Rabbinic sources This gates are also known to be periodically opened and closed (cf. *3 Bar.* 11:2 and 5), and the schedule of their opening hours was an object of talmudic discussion (*y. Ber.* 4.7c; *b. Ber.* 32b; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 24.2; *Pirqe R. El.* 35; cf. חפילת נעילה of the Day of Atonement service in *b. Yoma* 87b and "the gates of light and prayer" in *Sefer Raziel* 441). Baruch's evidence on the openings of the gate is not superfluous since some, as R. Eleazar, even believed that "from the day on which the Temple was destroyed the gates of prayer have been closed" (*b. Ber.* 32b).[441]

Harlow suggests that the abrupt ending of the ascent is designed intentionally to frustrate the readers' expectations of a climactic Throne theophany. It is prepared in the previous narrative by the "aborted theodicy" of the Prologue, the aborted ascent of the Builders (chs. 2–3), the declared distance of sinful humanity from God's Glory and even from the Glory of the sun (chs. 4 and 6). The purpose of the abrupt termination of the ascent, according to Harlow, is to polemicize against the conceptions of anthropomorphic depictions of God and angelic transformations of visionaries,[442] and against anticipation of the restoration of the Temple service. "The abrupt ending functions to *subvert* and thereby *reorient* the religious expectations of the readers."[443] Harlow compares the conclusion of Baruch's tour to the abrupt ending of the Gospel of Mark, where the expectation of arisen Jesus is frustrated.[444] Although the text itself hardly contains any hints to the dissatisfaction of the visionary, in the context of other major apocalypses Harlow's interpretation is plausible. Alternatively, it may be that the "gates of prayer" and the retribution mechanism connected to it were the intentionally ultimate objects of the ascent, which is thus not "abrupt," but just less advanced in comparison to theophanic and apotheotic mystic experiences. This understanding would be in complete accordance with the text, on the one hand, but a unique motif for the genre, on the other. On Baruch as a "modest" visionary, see comm. to T:1.

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441 Altogether this and similar sayings – as "Since the day that the Temple was destroyed, a wall of iron has intervened between Israel and their father in heaven" (*b. Ber.* 32b) – might have given an alternative explanation for the abruptness of the ascent in the post-Destruction world. For other celestial gates in *3 Baruch*, see 2:2; 6:13 and comm. ibid.

442 Cf. Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 87.

443 Harlow, *Baruch*, 76; 53–76.

444 Ibid., 55.

2. Number of Heavens

2.1. Seven Heavens

2.1.1. *Seven heavens and abrupt ascent.* The cosmology of seven heavens is the most developed model in early Jewish and Christian traditions.[445] This idea might be rooted in different ancient traditions and could be also linked to the sevenfold structure of the Temple of Jerusalem as described in *m. Kel.* 1.6–9, which lists ten areas of increasing holiness in the Land of Israel, of which seven refer to the Temple: (1) *heyl*, an area on the Temple mount forbidden to gentiles and to those defiled by the dead (שאין עובדי כוכבים וטמא מת נכנסים לשם);[446] (2) the court of women; (3) the court of Israel; (4) the court of priests; (5) area between the altar and *ulam* (בין האולם ולמזבח); (6) Sanctuary (היכל); (7) the Holy of Holies.[447] The celestial Temple also has a sevenfold structure in the Qumranic *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The seven palaces of the Hekhalot literature must also be rooted in these traditions.

Theoretically *3 Baruch* could imply a sevenfold celestial structure, where Baruch was allowed to reach only the gate before the fifth heaven. This hypothesis would accord with a schema of a three-chambered celestial Sanctuary, parallel to the terrestrial one, consisting of *ulam*, *hekhal*, and *devir*. In this scenario, Baruch would have reached the fourth heaven, the last before the celestial Sanctuary including three more heavens. See the series of seven divided into groups of four and three in Rev 6:1–8 and 8:13.

In a similar manner, the visionary of the *Apocalypse of Paul* travels only to the third heaven, though the texts speaks of additional ones (at least seven, see ch. 29).[448] The same model is found in *b. Hag.* 12b: "Till this

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445 See *2 En.* (A) 3–31; *T. Levi* (β) 3; *Apoc. Mos.* 35:2; *Asc. Isa.* 9; *Quest. Ezra* A 19–21; *T. Hez.*; *Apocalypse of Paul*; *3 En.* 17:1–3; 18:1–2; *Gen. Rab.* 6; 19.7; *Lev. Rab.* 29.11; *Num. Rab.* 12.6; 13.2; *Deut. Rab.* 2.32; *b. Hag.* 12b; *b. Shab* 156a; *Abot R. Nat.* (A) 37.110; *Cant. Rab.* 5.1; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 1; 24; *Pesiq. R.* 5; 15; 20.4; *Tan. B.* 3.37–38; *Tan.* Pequde 6; Naso 15; *Pirqe R. El.* 19; *Midr. Pss.* 9.88; 109.471; 148.538; *Midr. HaG.* 1.14–15 (Exod 7:1); *Masekhet Hekh.* 4.5 (*Bate Midr.* 2.42); *Reuyot Ezekiel* (*Bate Midr.* 2.129–30); *Midr. Konen* (*Bet HaMidr.* 2.53); *Seder Rab. deBereshit* 5–6; 21–26. (*Bate Midr.* 1.29); and *Sefer Raziel* 343. Cf. also Quran 17:44; 65:12; 78:12.

446 Cf. the River that bounds the first heaven and "which no one can cross, nor any alien breath" (*3 Bar.* 2:1).

447 See Morray-Jones, "Paradise Revisited."

448 Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology*, 109.

place [seventh heaven] you may discourse, from here onwards you have no permission to discourse." The highest "holy" heavens are explicitly distinguished from the low ones (two in the rescension α, and three in the rescension β) in the both versions of *T. Levi* 3:3 (see below). Similarly to *3 Baruch* only on these lower firmaments is it said that they were seen by Levi (2:7–8), while the rest are probably only described by the guiding angel (3:1–8). In the *Ascension of Isaiah* the five lowest heavens have characteristics which differ from those of the higher two. Only in the lower five does Jesus have to disguise himself during his descent: "And you shall make your likeness like that of all who are in the *five heavens*" (10:9). There are more differences: "And he [angel] said to me, 'From the sixth heaven and upwards there are no longer those on the left, nor is there a throne placed in the middle, but [they are directed] by the power of the seventh heaven, where the One who is not named dwells'" (8:7).

2.1.2. *Seven heavens and abridged version.* Another alternative is to suppose that the initial text of *3 Baruch* did include seven heavens, and described a complete ascent to that ultimate seventh heaven. Several points may be adduced in favor of this hypothesis, but they are not conclusive:

(1) Origen attests to the existence of a "book of the prophet Baruch," in which there are "very clear indications of the seven worlds or heavens" (*septem mundis uel caelis*; *Princ.* 2.3.6). However, we cannot be sure that our text is meant, and moreover, the term "world" never appears in *3 Baruch*.
(2) The vision of "the Glory of God" is repeatedly promised (4:2S; 6:12; 7:2; 11:2; 16:6S), but not fulfilled, if "the Glory of God" is to be considered as referring to a Throne theophany. It could have been contained in the lost conclusion. For counterarguments see comm. to 4:2S.
(3) The last promise to see the Glory occurs in S at the very end of the vision, along with other unfulfilled promises (16:6S; in previous transaltion – 16:4S). It has been suggested that this is part of an abridged ending completely omitted in G.[449] This interpretation derives from a mistake in translation. On this see comm. to 16:6.
(4) Michael's movements to and from higher heaven(s) (11:6; 14:1–15:1) demonstrate that there are more heaven(s) beyond Baruch's ultimate stop before (or according to some interpretations – in) the fifth heaven. This argument would count in favor of the existence of heaven(s) beyond the fifth, only if Baruch is considered to have entered the fifth

[449] So Bauckham, "Hell," 372–74.

heaven, which seems to contradict the plain meaning of the text (see above for parallels). Otherwise, Michael's movements attest only to the existence of the fifth heaven beyond Baruch's standpoint before its gate.

(5) The concluding chapters have more Christian interpolations than the earlier sections, which could be taken as an indication of a more thorough reworking (including abridgement).[450] Morever, there is a total lack of an eschatological agenda (including issues of national concern, as restoration, etc.), contrary to expectations for the conclusion of a work in this genre. In combination with obvious interpolations of Christian passages in the last chapters, this may speak in favor of abridgement due to a "Christianization" of the text. However, "Christianization" of the text need not be taken as an indication of abridgement; in most other Jewish apocalypses preserved by Christians such materials have successfully survived.

(6) The only textual argument in favor of the abridgement theory is verse 11:2: "We cannot enter *until* Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom of Heaven, comes (οὐ δυνάμεθα εἰσελθεῖν ἕως ἔθῃ Μιχαήλ …). The use of the word ἕως "until" presupposes that the entrance to at least the fifth heaven is expected or at least possible for Baruch.[451]

2.2. Alternative Cosmologies

Although the cosmology of seven firmaments is the most widely attested in Jewish tradition, various deviations from this number are also attested. Even though the plural form of Heb **שמים**, rendered by the plural also in LXX, could give an idea of the plurality of heavens, many ancient sources are not aware of this or ignore it altogether (thus all texts of the Bible, *1 Enoch*; *4 Ezra*; *Testament of Abraham*; *Apocalypse of Ezra*; *Vision of Ezra*; Revelation). Structures of two heavens (**שמים ושמי שמים**) were known to *b. Hag.* 12b (according to R. Yehudah bar Ilai, as opposed to the sevenfold model of Resh Lakish); *Deut. Rab.* 2.32 (6:4); and *Midr. Pss.* 114:2. Three heavens are found in *T. Levi* (α) 2:6–10; 2 Cor 12:2 (if it is a full ascent); and *Apoc. Sedr.* 2:3–5. Eight heavens, known to *Apoc. Abr.* 19:6[452] and *b. Hag.* 13a (cf. eight celestial spheres of Plato, *Rep.* 10.614–621), were especially popular with Gnostics (cf. *Poim.* 26; *Hip. Arch.* 95.13–96.3; *Apocryphon of John* 11:4; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.4–5; Epiphanius, *Haer.*

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450 So James, "Baruch," lxx.

451 For the detailed survey of the hypothesis see Harlow, *Baruch*, 36–41.

452 See Kulik, *Towards*, 143; Poirier, "Ouranology."

1.5.2; 40.2.3; 26.10.1–4; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.162.1; Origen, *Cels.* 6.21–22). There are eight heavens in *Reuyot Yehezkel*, where the eighth it is called "the Throne of Glory." These cosmologies, stressing the extra-transcendal character of God even in relation to the celestial realm, are in fact a modification of the schema of the seven heavens *plus one* supercelestial firmament as an abode of God (although in some sources above there is one more additional realm beyond the eighth). Ten heavens appear in *2 En.* (only J) 22; 20:3; Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 22–23; cf. *Poim.* 26 (similar to *2 Enoch* in many aspects); Origen, *Cels.* 6.25 (Ophitic diagram). Seventy two firmaments are mentioned in Gnostic *1 Apoc. James* 26. Basilides taught on 365 heavens (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.3–7; cf. 11.16.2; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.26.6). The number may rise to as many as 955 (*3 En* A48:1; *Masekhet Hekh.* 7 [*Bet HaMidr.* 2.45]).

2.2.1. *Five (or four plus one) heavens*. Picard suggested an original five heavens cosmology in *3 Baruch*, based upon structural literary analysis.[453] Harlow objects: "The proposal that *3 Baruch* envisions a five-heaven cosmology falters for the lack of a convincing precedent or analogy, the absence of any rationale for the number five …"[454] The only parallel was proposed by Wright: a fragmentary *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* A (cited in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.11.77), which also does not mention any higher heaven than the fifth (at least as far as we can judge from the preserved fragment).

In fact, additional parallels and analogies for the proposed cosmology of five heavens (or a refernce only to five lower heavens) can be adduced, along with a plausible rationale. In Coptic-Ethiopic *Ep. Apost.* 13[455] Jesus ascends directly to the fifth heaven and does not proceed any higher.[456] However, the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and *Epistola of the Apostles* may both depend upon the sevenfold model similar to *Asc. Isa.* 8–10, which clearly divides between the five low and two high heavens (cf. above). The model of five plus an additional "highest of all [heaven], where dwells the Great Glory, far above all holiness" may be ascribed to *T. Levi* (α) 3:1–8 ac-

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[453] Picard, *Apocalypsis*, 76–77; "Obseravariones," 94; "Autres," 28–29. Cf. Wright, *Heaven*, 340–42.

[454] Harlow, *Baruch*, 75; see 44–46; cf. "A weakness in his [Picard's] theory is that he does not explain why five rather than three or seven heavens are enumerated" (Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology*, 105).

[455] Dated by the 2th–3rd cent.; probably used by Commodianus (3rd cent).

[456] Similarly Abraham was taken directly to the highest seventh heaven (before the supercelestial eighth heaven) (*Apoc. Abr.* 19:4ff).

cording to one possible interpretation (see below). Notice also that in *b. Hag* 12b–13a the description of the first five heaven, containing *inter alia* ministering angels and Michael, is separated by a digression from the highest two.

Whereas the number "seven" does not feature in any numerical symbolism in *3 Baruch*, "five" plays an important role in the account of the "Five Trees" in 4:7S. There are five trees of Eden planted by five (chief?) angels (4:7S; four angels of Presence and the fallen angel Sataniel; see comm. to 4:7S: *Angelic staff*). An hierarchy of aeons called "Five Trees" is mentioned in *Pistis Sophia* 1.1 and 10; 2.86; 3.95; and *passim*; cf. also the *Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* 4. On this and on Gnostic and Manichaean pentads, referring also to the heavenly realm, see comm. to 4:7S: *Five Trees of Eden and 'Incurable Folly.'* Sometimes the number of angelic classes and/or archangels corresponds to the number of heavens; cf. seven classes and seven heavens in *1 En.* 61:10; ten heavens and classes in *2 En.* (J) 20:1 (here interchanging with five and nine), 20:3; 22; three and three formula in *Midr. Konen* 26–27.[457]

Origen refers to a "Book of Baruch" in order to demonstrate that the terms "heaven" and "world" are synonymous (*Princ.* 2.3.6).[458] In addition to the universally known scheme of five planets, modifications preserving the number five are known in later periods, from the "five worlds" of Proclus (*Theol.* 7.1–2; see below) to medieval concepts of hierarchical five worlds or celestial spheres. Maimonides spoke of "five spheres" (*kurra*) referring to a tradition of "early mathematicians (*Moreh Nev.* 2.9). Other kinds of hierarchies of five worlds are attested in Sephardi mystical cosmography and, independently, in the works of Hasidei Ashkenaz. See Abraham bar Hiyya, *Megillat ha-Megalleh* (p. 22–23); Elhanan ben Yakar, *Commentary* to *Sefer Yetsira* 183–198 (ascribing the concept to "the tradition from the days of ancient prophets" המסורת מימי הנביאים הקדמונים),[459] and

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457 There may also be a connection to the Builders's account in chs. 2–3. At some stage the fifth heaven became an abode of God's Presence as a result of the Builders' transgression according to the Rabbinic story about the gradual departure of the Presence from the first to the seventh heaven in the course of history (*Gen. Rab.* 19.7; *Num. Rab.* 13.2; *Pesiq. R.* 5.7).

458 Unde quidam volunt globam lunae vel solis ceterorumque astrorum, quae πλανήτας vocant, per singula mundos nominari; sed et ipsum supereminentum quem dicunt ἀπλανή globum, proprie nihilominus mundum appelari volunt < …> Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertinis huius testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis uel caelis euidentius indicator.

459 Vida, "Commentary," 192.

Pseudo-Saadia Commentary on the *Sefer Yetsira* 94d.[460] Cf. also the "five worlds" of the Sufis as witnessed by Qashani (*FN* 3). Gershom Scholem suggested that the independent kabbalistic traditions must have gone back to some "lost pseudepigrapha."[461]

The hierarchy of sacral areas modeled according to the Temple structure may accommodate a scheme of five areas even better than one of seven (see *Seven heavens: abrupt ascent* in this comm. above), if the celestial world is divided according to the five groups which had their own areas on the earthly Temple mount: (1) gentiles, (2) women, (3) men, (4) priests, and (5) the high priest. In *3 Baruch* angelic priests appear only in the fourth heaven (court of priests), and only Michael has access to the fifth heaven (Holy of Holies). The heavenly Temple is found in the fifth heaven (named *Shehaqim*) according to *Reuyot Yehezkel* (cf. *b. Hag.* 12b cited below).[462]

The proposed system of five heavens could actually reflect a "four plus one" scheme, involving an additional supercelestial realm similar to the eightfold schemes discussed above. The number "four" is attested in celestial divisions of *1 En*: "four quarters of heaven" (76:12) and "four hollow places" where the souls dwell (ch. 22). "The heaven [created on the fourth day] was afterwards duly decked in a perfect number, namely four" (Philo, *Opif.* 15.47). The quadriads may be connected to the concept of the four elements.[463] Philo, as well as other Hellenistic scientists, adds the "fifth element," "a wonderful and divine essence" (i.e., ether or *quinta essentia* of the Greco-Roman science), of which heaven is made (*Quaest. Gen.* 3.2). The whole world is divided according to these elements: "The universe also receives a division into five parts. For the world is one and quintuple, and is appropriately divided by celestial, empyreal, aerial, aquatic and terrestrial figures and presiding Gods" (Proclus, *Theol.* 7.1–2). The same could have

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460 See Scholem, "To the Study;" Epstein, *From the Jewish Antiquities*, 231–37.

461 " … fast sicher angenommen, daß beide Zuegen von einander unabhängig und daher auf eine ältere gemeinzame Quelle zurückgefüren seien" (Sholem, "Reste," 182),"Ich möchte die Vermutung aussprechen, daß dieses Stück aus demselben Buch stammt wie das Schema der fünf Lichtwelten, und daß wir als diese Quelle eines der für uns verlorenen Pseudepigraphen … zu betrachten haben" (ibid., 188). Note also certain similarities in the compound of the "worlds" in the above sources and the heavens of *3 Baruch*, like the location of Hades in the second, sources of light in the third, angels in the fourth, and God's Glory in the fifth heaven.

462 See Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 128ff.

463 Cf. also a hierarchy of four metals, from Hesiod's four ages (*Op.* 106–201) to the four kingdoms of Dan 2, or the four as a Pythagorean perfect number (Collins, *Cosmology*, 92).

been applied to heaven alone: God's "Glory passed through the four gates of fire and earthquake and wind and ice, to give the Law to the seed of Jacob" (*4 Ezra* 3:19). If the subsequent gates are meant, there may be four heavens corresponding to fire, earth, air, and water.[464] The elements may be connected to the hierarchy of heavens and their angels in *Apoc. Abr.* 15–19, although in a different order: earth, air, water (as dew?), fire. The lowest heaven Abraham can see from the seventh heaven above is the fifth one with "the elements of earth" that obey "the incorporeal spiritual angels" of the sixth heaven, who in turn "carry out the orders of the fiery angels who were on the eighth firmament." The seventh heaven contains also dew, as well as fire and light (19:4–9). The hierarchy of earth, water, fire, air, and ether may correspond in the same order to the accounts of the Builders (first heaven), Sea Serpent, sea and rivers (second heaven), luminaries (third heaven), soul-birds (fourth heaven), and the inaccessible realm (fifth heaven).[465] The tetrad of elements in the same order integrated into seven plagues of Rev 16, beginning with earth (16:2), salt and fresh waters (16:3–4); the sun and fire (16:8), and finishing with air (16:17). See the angels responsible for different elements in Rev 14:18 ("the angel in charge of the fire") and 16:6 ("the angel in charge of the waters").[466]

2.2.2. *Three (three plus one) heavens and textual history of 3 Baruch*. It is possible that the original version of *3 Baruch* had a scheme of three or "three plus one" heavens, which was corrupted or intentionally changed during the transmission of the text.

Textual arguments. The suggestion helps to settle several textual problems:
(1) In G the last heaven visited by Baruch is numbered as "the third" (10:1G), while the next heaven is designated as "the fifth" (11:1 in both versions). At least one of the numbers must have been emended,

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464 Although here the four portals for the phenomena of weather may be meant (as in *1 En.* 36:1; 76), since different meteorological phenomena and/or luminaries can be found in the same heaven (*T. Levi* 3:2; *2 En.* 3:3–6; 5:1–2; 6:1; *1 En.* 76); see Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 72.

465 Cf. the idea of Apuleius that every element must have a creature proper to it (*Deo Socr.* 8). Cf. further Philo: "Our name for those which have the power of locomotion is animals. These took to the several main divisions of our universe, land animals to earth, to water those that swim, the winged creatures to air, and to fire the fire-born" (*Plant.* 3.12).

466 On the plagues of Rev 16 and the Hellenistic motif of the four elements, see Collins, *Cosmology*, 106; eadem, "History."

or alternatively both were inconsistently interpolated to the previously unnumbered descriptions (on the parallels for the phenomenon see below). The following considerations support the hypothesis that the reading of 10:1G is a remnant of an older structure.

(2) The numbering of 10:1G accords with the hypothesis of the duplication of the Builders account (see introductory comm. to ch. 3), which duplicates also the description of the lower heaven. Without the second account of the Builders, the number of the heavens before the last gate reduces to three.

(3) This numbering is corroborated by 7:2S, stating that all previous visions including the sun took place in the lower two heavens. In this case, the words "in the third heaven" of 7:2G might be either interpolated (in order to harmonize with the duplication of the account of the Builders) or, less probably, they may imply that Baruch sees the luminaries of the third heaven from his observation point in the second one (as Abraham sees different heavens from the seventh in *Apoc. Abr.* 19).

(4) The inconsistent (probably interpolated) numbering of heavens throughout the book contradicts other indications of the intercelestial transfer of the visionary (see the table above): both versions mention only three celestial journeys (2:2; 3:1; 4:2) and three gates (three before the last in S and a total of three in G; 2:2; 3:1; 4:2; 11:2). However, taking into account also the duplication of the account of the Builders (including 3:1), there will be a "secondary" indication to the ascent only for the first (Builders-Demons) and the second (Beasts and luminaries) heavens, while the transfer to the third heaven (Lake of Birds) is indicated only by the "plain" and a number in G, and is not indicated at all in S (see *Two heavens* below).

To summarize: (1) *lectiones difficiliores* of 7:2S and 10:1G both witnessing two heavens instead of three until 10:1 are the rudiments of the proto-text; (2) the second account of the Builders (3:1–5a) is a duplication; and (3) the inconsistent numbers – "third heaven" of 7:2G and the "fifth heaven" of 11:1 – are interpolated, probably with other numbers of heavens throughout the book.

In this case, the Builders occupy only one lower heaven, while Lights and Beasts are in the second heaven (in accordance with 7:2S), and the Lake of Birds is in the third (in accordance with 10:1G). Both the Serpent and Lights (especially the moon) situated in the middle heaven are known to divide between higher and lower realms in different sources (for the moon see introductory comm. to ch. 10; for the Serpent see Origen, *Cels.* 6.25; and Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 1.10.45–53 cited in the introductory comm. to ch. 4).

Precedents for original form. The system of three heavens is attested in Jewish sources: in *T. Levi* (α) 2:6–10; *Midr. Pss.* 114:2; and probably in 2 Cor 12:2 and *Apoc. Sedr.* 2:3–5, where visionaries arrive to the third heaven, and no higher heaven is mentioned.[467] For the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* it is probable that the third heaven is the highest, since there the visionary can "speak to God face to face" (2:4). The three stages of the ascent probably also appear in *1 En.* 14 (the fiery wall of 14:9 and two concentric houses in 14:10–17). Another trace of the "three plus one" heavens cosmology may occur in *4 Ezra* 3:19 (cf. another interpretation above), where the Sinai theophany is described as a gradual descent of God's Glory through four subsequent gates. It may mean that it comes (a) from the highest fourth heaven, or (b) from the supercelestial abode above the highest third heaven, or (c) from the middle of heaven viz. the fourth heaven (of total seven; cf. the heavenly Temple on the fourth heaven in *b. Hag.* 12b; *b. Zeb.* 62a; *b. Menah.* 110a).[468]

Bousset tried to trace the threefold celestial system back to the Persian model of the three firmaments with the Paradise located above them.[469] Zoroastrians believed that a just soul crosses three levels (even called "heavens") in order to reach the highest divine realm.[470] The scheme may even be older, since although the typical ancient Near Eastern systems normally had only one heaven, *Enuma Elish* has more than one level above the sky, and the three heavens system (parallel there to three terrestrial surfaces) is also attested among other multicelelstial systems in Mesopotamia (see Akkadian texts in *KAR* 307 and *OA* 8196). Some interpret the biblical expression שמי השמים "heaven of heavens [in dual. tant.]" as referring to the Babylonian conception of the celestial realm divided to "the upper," "the middle," and "the upper heavens" inhabited by Anu (cf. the terminology of *T. Levi* 2:7, 3:1, and 3:4 below).[471] A Hellenistic Egyptian depiction

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467 On 2 Corinthians see Young, "The Ascension Motif," 90.

468 Cf. Moses in Rabbinic sources, who ascents through the gates of seven heavens in order to receive the Torah (*Pesiq. R.* 96b–98a [ed. Friedmann]; *Chr. of Jerahmiel*).

469 Collins, *Cosmology*, 22; Bousset, *Himmelreise* 136–69; 229–73.

470 Panaino, "Uranographia."

471 Collins, "Seven," 64; Lambert, "Cosmology," 58–59; and Livingstone, *Mystical*, 82–86. Cf. also late Bronze or early Iron Age cultic stands from Taanach that have several registers one above the other. The sequence of four registers of one of them "could be interpreted as a way of using a three-dimensional piece to portray graded sacredness that become more intense as on progresses from < …> chaos to an ordered cosmos < …> the topmost register portrays the shrine itself with its inner sanctum, the cella" (Keel, Uehlinger, *Gods*, 158–159, fig. 184). Among other images the stand

of the goddess Nut and the god Geb dated by the Ptolemaic period presents a structure of three hemispheres (two of Nut and one Geb).[472] Wright considers it a product of "Egypto-Greek symbiosis" of the Hellenistic period (analogous to the Jewish-Hellenistic synthesis of our text).[473]

The contents of the first four heavens of a total of seven described by Resh Lakish in *b. Hag.* 12b is very similar to the heavens of *3 Baruch*, if it has been correctly interpreted above. In both sources the luminaries are located in the second heaven, "in which sun and moon, stars and constellations are set;" the rain and dew of the third heaven in *3 Baruch* correspond to manna in Talmud; and the inaccessible realm beyond the last gate, where Michael brings the angelic offerings corresponds to the fourth heaven, "in which [the heavenly] Jerusalem and the Temple and the altar are built, and Michael, the Great Prince, stands and offers up thereon an offering."

Precedents for reworking. The tendencies of (1) numbering previously unnumbered heavens, and (2) the standardization of the number of heavens according to the most common sevenfold models may be traced in the textual history of the *Testament of Levi* and *2 Enoch*. Similarly, in the *Life of Adam and Eve* we have a version that is reticent about the number of heavens (*Vita*), and another that gives the number seven (*Apoc. Mos.* 35:2).

There are several ways to calculate the amount and numbering of heavens in *T. Levi* 2–3. Two rescensions α and β have two different amounts which are widely recognized as three and seven correspondently. However, two verses 3:5 and 7 begin with Gk ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν, which may be read either as "in the one next to it," and thus as introducing an additional heaven each, or as "in the same [heaven] with it", thus referring to the heaven already introduced above.[474] The picture is complicated even more, since the two lowest heavens in 3:1–2α may appear again at the end of the next list (we call it the "repetition version" below). Alternatively, the next list may refer to additional heavens above the two lower ones (as in the rescension β; we refer to this as the "differentiating version"). Thus, these two alternatives create four different ways to count the heavens in the rescension α and two in the rescension β.

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has a tree (*ashera*?) and a winged solar disk. Some find a griffin in its upper tier, together with the sun (Taylor, "Yahwe," 35).

[472] See Keel, *Symbolism*, 34, fig. 30.

[473] Wright, *Heaven*, 103.

[474] See Wright, *Heaven*, 261.

Rescension α

T. Levi (α) 3:1–8	Repetit ion versio n "in the same [heave n] with it"	Repetit ion versio n "in the one next to it"	Differ entiati ng versio n "in the same [heave n] with it"	Differ entiati ng versio n "in the one next to it"
(3:l) Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause dark unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men. (3:2) And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgment, in the righteous judgment of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on men. [cf. 2:7: "And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging"]	1	1	**1**	1
(3:3) And in the second are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the Day of Judgment, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. [cf. 2:8: "And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a boundless light also therein"]	2	2	**2**	2
And above them are the holy ones.	Division between the lower and the higher realms ("holy heavens," *kosmos*)			
(3:4) And in the highest of all dwells the Great Glory, far above all holiness.	3	4	**4**	6
(3:5) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν there are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous; (3:6) offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savor, a reasonable and a bloodless offering.	3	3	**4**	5
(3:7) And in the one below this [ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποκάτω] are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.	2	2	**3**	4
(3:8) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν there are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.	2	1	**3**	3

The schema in the third column (presenting the "three plus one" heavens cosmology) looks the most logical: (1) different (even contradictory) descriptions refer to different heavens, and (2) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν of 3:5 and 8 functionally differs from ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποκάτω of 3:7.[475] The description of specifically higher heavens in descending order is not unique: it is also attested in *Apoc. Abr.* 19 (describing heavens from the seventh to the fifth); see also the descent of Jesus in *Asc. Isa.* 10.

The redactor of β must have slightly emended the text above in order to adjust it to the seven heavens scheme.

Rescension β (main discrepancies with α are put in italics)

T. Levi (β) 3:1–8	"in the same [heaven] with it"	"in the one next to it"
(3:l) Hear, therefore, regarding the *seven* heavens. The lowest is for this cause dark, in that it is near all the unrighteous deeds of men.	1	**1**
(3:2) *The second* has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgment, in the righteous judgment of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on *the wicked*. [cf. 2:7: "And I entered from the first heaven into the second, and I saw there a great sea hanging between the one and the other"]	2	**2**
(3:3) *In the third* are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgment, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. [cf. 2:8: "And I saw a third heaven far brighter than those two, for there was in it a height without bounds."]	3	**3**
And [the heavens] *up to the fourth* above these are holy.	Division between the lower and the higher realms ("holy heavens," *kosmos*)	
(3:4) *For* in the highest of all dwells the Great Glory, far above all holiness.	7	**7**
(3:5) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν there are the *angels of the presence of the Lord*, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous; (3:6) They offer to the Lord a reasonable sweet-smelling savor and a bloodless offering.	7	**6**

[475] Cf. Wright (*Heaven*, 461) suggesting the latter argument in order to reject the scheme of the second column.

(3:7) And in the heaven below this are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.	6	5
(3:8) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν there are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.	6	4

The numbering of heavens in verses 3:1 and the end of 3:3 indicate that β, by declaring the seven heavens scheme (1) did not hold to the "repetition reading" (proposed by modern scholars for α) and (2) most probably understood ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν as "in the one next to it" (otherwise, it would lack the description of the fourth and the fifth heavens). Both assumptions must give six heavens also in α (cf. the fourth column of the previous table) and they enabled the emendation of α in accordance with the popular sevenfold scheme by just two changes: inserting numbering inside coherent descriptions and splitting the description of the first heaven into two. Rescension α was considered original by Charles, Bietenhard, and Kee, among others,[476] while De Jonge suggested an opposite development: from seven to three, corrupted under the influence of 2 Cor 12).[477] Despite De Jonge, it would be more difficult to imagine why and how β could be emended to α (except the possible influence of 2 Cor 12).

The *Testament of Levi*, in contrast to *3 Baruch*, has been preserved in both earlier and later versions. It provides us with a model of a redactional process similar to that proposed for *3 Baruch*. There is the same tendency (of multiplication of heavens) and the same method (of inserting numbering). In both cases, editors have left their fingerprints, although in *3 Baruch* the redactors' technique is more transparent, because it is less consistent (for the obvious reason that the emendation involved not a short chapter, but an entire book).

A similar relationship is observed between the two rescensions of *2 Enoch*: the longer rescension (J) has ten heavens, and a shorter one (A) has seven. Also there seem to have been some intentional correction in this text, from ten heavens, which is rather rare (although attested also in Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 22–23; cf. *Poim.* 26; Origen, *Cels.* 6.25 (Ophitic diagram); *Num. Rab.* 14) to a more common seven. An inconsistent interpolation of an ordinal number of a heaven most probably took place in the Greek *Apocalypse of Ezra*: at the beginning, "the first heaven" is mentioned, although there is no further evidence of the multiple heavens system.

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476 Charles, *Testaments*, 27; Bietenhard, *Himmliche*, 3–4; Kee, "Testaments," 1.788.
477 Jonge, *Studies*, 45–62.

Rationale of three heavens. Both the *Testament of Levi* and *2 Enoch* share the conception of the division of heavens to two groups, shared probably with the Hellenistic cosmologies distinguishing between the irregular *ouranos* and higher *kosmos*[478] and in accordance with the concept shared by Jews and Greeks that "the impure is not meet and right to be in contact with the pure" (Plato, *Phaed.* 67b).

In *2 Enoch*, the Paradise of the third heaven divides between "corruptible" and "incorruptible" (8:5), while the seven "stars" have their spherical routes in the middle zone of water dividing between the upper light and the lower darkness (*2 En.* 27:3; see "the light is being separated from the darkness" and the middle position of the luminaries in *3 Bar.* 6:13). The highest heavens are explicitly distinguished from the low ones in both versions of *T. Levi* 3:3 (two heavens in the rescension α, and three in the rescension β). The first heaven is "dark," because "it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men" (3:1). In *3 Baruch* the sun is similarly defiled, "because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men" in *3 Bar.* 8:5. In the *Testament of Levi* both lower heavens are inhabited by the demonic "spirits of the retributions for vengeance," "spirits of deceit and of Beliar" (3:2–3). Similarly, in *3 Baruch* the lower two heavens are inhabited by chimeric Builders and "dark and impure" Hades (*3 Bar.* 2–3). In the *Testament of Levi* above the lower heavens "there are the holy ones" (3:3).[479] In *3 Baruch* the superlunary heaven has "pure" birds and probably purificatory waters (see comm. to chs. 9 and 10). Note that in all three compositions the lower group consists of two heavens.

Three heavens and Temple areas. As well as other divisions discussed above, the threefold division could well be modeled according to either (a) the four elements or (b) the Temple areas:

(1) In the former case, (1) *earth* corresponds to earth, while the rest "three plus one" elements correspond to the "three plus one" celestial structure: (2) *air*: the firmament of the demonic Builders – demons, "spiritual ones" – abiding in the lower heaven known as "air" (Gk ἀήρ "air" means also "lower visible sky;" in LXX it renders exclusively Heb שחק "cloud," "sky;" cf. **аєръ** in this meaning on *Apoc. Abr.* 15:5); (3) *fire*:

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[478] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 116, n. 81.

[479] "The holy ones," Gk ἅγιοι may also be not קדושים as angels, but "holy heavens" in distinct of lower two heavens; cf. Wis 9:10: "O send her [Wisdom] out of thy *holy heavens*, and from the throne of thy glory, that being present she may labor with me, that I may know what is pleasing unto thee." "High, *holy*, and eternal heaven" appears in *1 En.* 15:3.

firmament of Lights and fiery Hades; (4) *water*: the Lake of Birds, the source of the celestial rain and dew; (5) *aether* – the inaccessible firmament beyond the last gate.

(2) In the latter case, the firmaments correspond to (1) the Women's Court, (2) the Court [of Israel] (עזרה), and (3) the Court of Priests or (1) the Court, (2) the Sanctuary, and (3) the Holy of Holies.[480] The latter partition would also be consonant with the "two plus one" model described below.

2.2.3. *Two (two plus one) heavens*. If to accept the hypothesis that (1) the second Builders account was interpolated (see introductory comm. to ch. 3) and that (2) the numbering of heavens was added to previously unnumbered descriptions (see above), then the Slavonic rescension, which in many cases reflects an earlier stage of the text development than the extant Greek one, witnesses only two heavens before the last gate and the supercelestial realm beyond it. The table below summarizes all the indications of intercelestial transfers throughout the book, ignoring ch. 3 and the numbering of the heavens:

	Ascend[481]		Gate		Journey		Plain	
	G	S	G	S	G	S	G	S
2:2–3	*1	*1	+	+	+	+	+	+
4:2	*2	*2	–	+	+	+	+	+
10:1	(*3)	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–
11:1	*4	*3	+	+	–	–	–	–

Even for G, the transfer to the "third" heaven is signaled only by the "plain" (which could substitute for "mountain" of S). For S there are consistently only two lower heavens: two gates, two journeys, and two plains. Moreover, 7:2S explicitly speaks only of two heavens: "what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens."

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480 Cf. different divisions of the Temple area juxtaposed to the celestial world proposed by Morray-Jones, "Paradise," 204; cf. Maier, *Kultus*, 127; Milik, Black, *Enoch*, 40–41 and 231–36. Cf. also a threefold division of Paradise in *Abot R. Nat.* B 43 and *Maase deR. Yehoshua b. Levi* (Gaster, "Sefer").

481 In these columns the ascents are numbered in the order of appearance of any indication of the ascent.

This scheme may go back to a biblical conception of שמי השמים, which may refer to two or three heavens understood as "heaven of heaven" or "heaven of heavens" (Deut 10:14; 1 Kgs 8:27; Neh 9:6; Ps 148:4; 2 Chr 2:5; 6:18).[482] Thus it was interpreted by R. Yehudah bar Ilai: "There are two heavens, as it is written, 'Heaven, heaven of heaven, earth and everything in it, all belong to God' [Deut 10:14]" (*b. Hag.* 12b; cf. *Deut. Rab.* 2.32 [6:4]). *Midr. Pss.* 114:2 knows of both variations: the concept of two heavens based on Ps 68:34(33): "who rids upon the heaven of ancient heaven," and the alternative view that there are three heavens, referring to "the heavens [understood as dual] and the heaven of heavens [above them]" of 1 Kgs 8:27. The same conception may be ascribed also to *T. Levi* (α) if interpreted according to the scheme of the first column (see the table above). The stages of Enoch's tour in *1 En.* 14:8–18 can also be interpreted according to this model: heaven, "house," and the second "house" with the Throne corresponding to the supercelestial realm. In the Ethiopic *Apoc. Pet.* 17 Jesus ascends to the second heaven with Moses and Elijah (however, there are may be more heavens). The scheme most similar to this understanding of *3 Baruch* is brought in the Nag Hammadi *Apocryphon of James*, where disciples follow Jesus through the first two heavens and are not allowed to the third.[483]

A cosmology of "two plus one" heavens may serve an additional *raison d'être* of *3 Baruch*'s within the Christian tradition where it would have provide Christian readers with the detailed descriptions of the first two heavens, thereby complementing 2 Corinthians and *Apocalypse of Paul*, where the first two heavens are entirely ignored.

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[482] See Collins, *Cosmology*, 23–24.

[483] Cf. Josephus who discusses the symbolism of the Tent divided into three areas according to the structure of the whole universe (but just heaven), among which the third is inaccessible to humans: "For by dividing the Tent, which is thirty cubits long, into three parts, and designating two of them for all the priests as a place accessible and in common, he signifies the earth and the sea, for these also are accessible to all. But he earmarked the third part for God alone because of the fact that the heaven also is inaccessible to men" (*Ant.* 3.181).

Summarizing table of alternative ouranological schemes implied in 3 Baruch

3 Baruch	*Heavens*			*Main Parallels*				*Elements*		*Temple*		
	4+1	*3+1*	*2+1*	*T. Levi 3 (a)*			*b. Hag. 12b*					
Demons	1	1	1	Great sea	Dark heaven	Dark heaven	Veil	Earth	Air	Gentiles	Women's Court	Court
[Demons][484]	2				Spirits of retribution	Spirits of retribution		Water		Women's Court		
Beasts Lights	3	2	2	Light	Fighting angels	Fighting angels	Lights	Fire	Fire	Court of Israel	Court of Israel	Sanctuary
Celestial Waters Praising Birds Angelic Priests	4	3			Praising angels	Praising angels	Manna	Air	Water	Court of Priests	Court of Priests	
Celestial Temple Michael	5	4	3		Great Glory	Great Glory	Celestial Temple Michael	Ether	Ether	Holy of Holies	Holy of Holies	Holy of Holies

[484] Probably interpolated.

11:2S. *And he showed me large gates, and names of men were written [on them]*. Only in S. Family β explains: "And the angel told me: 'The names of those, who are to enter here, are written here.'" So in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, where the names of the righteous are written on the gates as well:

> And I followed the angel and he took me up unto the third heaven and set me before the door of a gate; and I looked on it and saw, and the gate was of gold, and there were two pillars of gold full of golden letters. And the angel turned again to me and said, "Blessed are you, if you enter in these gates, for it is not permitted to enter to anyone except those who have kept goodness and pureness of their bodies in all things." And I asked the angel and said, "Lord, tell me why are these letters set upon these tables?" The angel answered and told me, "These are the names of the righteous who dwell on earth and that serve God with their whole heart." (*Apoc. Paul* 19)

The last formula alludes to "Who will ascend to the mountain of the Lord? … He that has clean hands and a pure heart" (Ps 24:3). The entrance to the Temple in Jerusalem also had inscriptions (in Greek and Latin), although referring to those who are not supposed to enter beyond the *soreg* (i.e., gentiles; see Philo, *Leg.* 31.212; Josephus, *Bell.* 5.193–94., cf. 6.124ff.; *Ant.* 15.417; *m. Mid.* 2.3).[485] Similar warnings are attested also for pagan temples.[486] The names of those who are destined to be "delivered" are also written (although in a celestial book): "At that time your people will be delivered, everyone whose name is written in the book" (Dan 12:2).

The names here must be either of visionaries of a "higher rank" than Baruch, or rather of the righteous deserving eternal life in celestial resting places.[487] Thus, Baruch eventually stays outside, either since he is a "minor visionary" (see comm. to T:1) or because he makes his ascent while he is alive. The latter explanation has two arguments in its favor:

(1) It may be well integrated into the hypothesis of the developed conception of the afterlife contained in *3 Baruch*, according to which the Birds can be understood as souls ascending to their resting places in a higher abode (see ch. 10), and the Oil Reward can be interpreted as the gift of eternal life (see ch. 12).
(2) The only additional detail that we can learn about the forbidden realm guarded by Michael is its name: it must be "Kingdom" (S) or "Kingdom of Heaven" (G), of which Michael is a "key-holder" (Μιχαὴλ ὁ

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485 Two such tablets were discovered and published by Clermont-Ganneau ("Une stele") and Iliffe ("The θάνατος Inscription"). A similar proclamation was posted by Antiochus III on the gates of Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.145).

486 See Bickerman "Warning."

487 Cf. "he [God] raised him up men called by name" (CD 2.9); "elect of Israel called by the name" (קריאי השם; ibid. 6.1).

κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν). The term "Kingdom of Heaven" is known from Ps 103:19; Dan 4:34; Matt 3:2, and elsewhere in different meanings including the abode of the righteous: "Many shall come from the east and the west and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matt 8:11).

11:2. *Michael*. Michael was mentioned above in 4:7S. There he was commanded "to gather 200,003 angels to plant the Garden," and planted the olive himself (cf. comm. to 15:1S). In many and diverse sources Michael is a Prince of Israel and sometimes also "of all the righteous" (which is sometime a synonym for Israel) or of "the best part of mankind" or of "believers" (in Christian sources), sometimes combining this function with being the chief angel (see, e.g., Dan 7:1; 10:13, 21; 12:1; *1 En.* 20:5; *2 En.* 33:10; *4 Bar.* 9:5; *As. Mos.* 10:2; 1QM 17.6–8; *Herm. Sim.* 3.3.; *b. Hag.* 12b; *Yoma* 77a; *Tg. Cant.* 8:9; cf. a Michael-like figure in *T. Levi* 5:6). However, in *3 Baruch* these roles may be only implied by the action of bringing the Oil Reward for the righteous. Explicitly in *3 Baruch* Michael is only a "commander-in-chief," a gate-keeper, and probably the celestial high priest.

1. *Michael the commander-in-chief*. Below Michael is called ἀρχιστράτηγος (11:4; 11:6, 7, 8; 13:3). Only in G (in 13:3S the angels call him "our chief" – **начальниче нашь**). Usually Michael is called "archangel" (*1 En.* 71:3; *2 En.* (A) 22:6; 33:10; *Apoc. Mos.* Intr.; 3:2 and *passim*; *T. Abr.* (B) 2:2; *4 Bar.* 9:5; *Apoc. Ezra* 1:3; *Apoc. Sedr.* 14:1; Jude 9; PGM VII.257), but in *3 Baruch* he is called this only in 11:8G and 12:4G, while this title is assigned also to the guiding angel (10:1G). Since, despite the title "commander-in-chief" no military function is assigned to Michael in this work (nor in *2 Enoch* and in many other parallels below), Rohland supposed the title to be a result of later Christian redaction of *3 Baruch* on the background of the Byzantine cult of Michael as a distinctively military figure.[488] However, this title and military function are both well attested in many other Jewish and early Christian works. Michael is called by the Gk ἀρχιστράτηγος or CS **архистратигъ** also in *2 En.* (J) 22:6; 33:10; *T. Abr.* (A) *passim*; *T. Abr.* (B) 14:7; *Asc. Mos.* 10:2. Similar titles ἄρχων "prince" and ὁ ἄρχων ὁ μέγας "great prince" appear in Dan 10:13; 21 and in Dan 12:1. Cf. the Coptic *Fall of Satan*; *Apoc. Paul* 43; *Ep. Apost.* 13; *Gos. Bart.* 4:28. Michael overcomes the Kittim in *War Scroll* (1QM), and in Rev 12:7–9 he is a military com-

[488] Rohland, *Michael*, 55–57; cf. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 11–116; Harlow, "Baruch," 154, n. 143.

mander "fighting with his angels" against the Dragon "who leads the whole world astray." The Rabbinic title מיכאל שר צבא הגדול "Michael the Great/ Chief Commander" (and not "Prince of the Great Host" as sometimes translated) is identical to the Greek term, whatever their mutual dependence may have been (e.g. *t. Hul.* 2.18; cf. *b. Abod. Zar.* 41b; *Exod. Rab.* 32.9).

In the context of the astronomic interests of *3 Baruch*, this epithet could also have some astronomic meaning: "commander-in-chief" (שר צבא(ה), ἀρχιστράτηγος in Josh 5:14; Dan 8:11) stands at the head of the starry host. However, *3 Baruch* mentions stars only very briefly in 9:8G, and has no traces of the well known motif of their identification with angels.

2. *Michael the Gatekeeper.* "The key-holder of the Kingdom [S: + "of Heaven" G]" (ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν) Michael is "the archangel of righteousness, opens the gates for the righteous" in *4 Bar.* 9:5. An unnamed angel is a key-holder or a gate-guardian in *T. Levi* 5:1 (like Michael, he "intercedes for the nation of Israel" according to *T. Levi* 5:6). Peter inherits this function from Michael (cf. the wording in Matt 16:19, where Peter is given "the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" – κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν; cf. also a gatekeeper in John 10:3). Michael in his turn is a successor of ancient Near Eastern heavenly beings also guarding celestial gates; cf. *Adapa* in the similar context: "And he [Adapa] went up to heaven. When he came to heaven, when he approached the Gate of Anu, Dimmuzi and Gizzida were standing in the Gate of Anu."[489] Celestial gatekeepers appear in *Asc. Isa.* 10:23–31, where even Jesus has to give them a password in order to descend (cf. gatekeepers of the Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 2–23; *1 Apoc. James* 33:7–15). Similarly, in Hekhalot literature the extent of ascension is often conditioned by the test of a visionary's worthiness before every gate (cf., e.g., *Hekh. Zut.*, ms New York 23a; *Hekh. Rabbati* 17–23) and thus it may be interrupted at any stage, sometimes by the "angels of destruction" guarding the gateways (see, e.g., *Hekh. Rabbati* 15.8–16.2).[490] As in *3 Baruch*, in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (9:1–5) and in the *Ozhayah Fragment* (2b/8–10)[491] the gatekeepers prevent the visionary from entering or are mentioned only before the last (there seventh) gate or palace.

Heavenly doorkeepers are ascribed to the beliefs of Ophites by Origen (*Cels.* 6.31; 7.40). Scholem suggested that the motif of gatekeepers in

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[489] Dally, *Myths*. Cf. also beasts guarding king palace gates in Mesopotamia (Wright, *Heaven*, 44, 83).

[490] Schäfer, *Synopse*, #213–15.

[491] Ibid., #2a/23–2b/24.

Hekhalot literature is "a Jewish variation" of a Gnostic and Hermetic tradition.[492] However, the motif is more widely known.

The two roles of Michael in *3 Baruch*, (1) the gatekeeper standing on the boarder of the "the higher heaven" and (2) the priest interceding for men (see below), are united in "the archangel and most ancient Logos" of Philo:

> To His Word, His chief messenger, highest in age and honour, the Father of all has given the special prerogative, to stand on the border and separate the creature from the Creator. This same Word both pleads with the immortal as suppliant for afflicted mortality and acts as ambassador of the ruler to the subject. He glories in this prerogative and proudly describes it in these words 'and I stood between the Lord and you' [Deut 5:5], that is neither uncreated as God, nor created as you, but midway between the two extremes, a surety to both sides; to the parent, pledging the creature that it should never altogether rebel against the rein and choose disorder rather than order; to the child, warranting his hopes that the merciful God will never forget His own work. (*Her.* 42.205–206; cf. *Somn.* 1.25; *Fug.* 19)

3. *Michael the High Priest*. If the previous two functions appear in *3 Baruch* only in Michael's titles, his role as a priest is described in detail through five chapters: Michael transfers the offerings brought by the angels representing men to the higher heaven and from there brings their reward in return (chs. 12–16). Eschatological purification, assigned to Michael in *1 En.* 10:20–22, may be a priestly function too. Michael is explicitly a heavenly priest in *b. Hag.* 12b: "Zebul [the fourth heaven] is that in which [the heavenly] Jerusalem and the Temple and the Altar are built, and Michael, the Great Prince, stands and offers up thereon an offering;" the same image of Michael offering on the altar is found in *b. Zeb.* 62a and *b. Men.* 110a. Even the establishment of the tithe was ascribed to Michael (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 32:25).

On Michael as an angel of prayer, on angels as priests in the heavenly Temple, and for worship and prayer to Michael, see introductory comm. to ch. 12.[493]

11:4. *To receive the prayers of men* (δέξηται τὰς δεήσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων / **да примѣтъ молитвы чловѣча**). The practice of regular prayer is witnessed as early as in Dan 6:11; Ps 55:18. The commandment of prayer or praise was derived from Deut 10:20–21 (cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.57.311–312). Philo defines prayer as one of the most important "virtues" (ἀρεταί; *Plant.* 40.126). Rabbis ascribed the establishing of fixed prayers to "the Great Assembly" (*b. Ber.* 33a), "early sages" (*Sifre* Deut 343; *b. Meg.* 18a), and

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[492] *Major*, 49.

[493] For general bibliography on Michael see esp. Hannah, *Michael*.

"early *hasidim*" (*Midr. Pss*. 17). It is an act of piety prescribed by Jesus (Matt 6:5–13; 7:7–1; Luke 11:1–3).

Below we find angels bringing men's prayers through the ceremony which has much in common with different sacrificial rites (see comm. to ch. 12). Prayers were likened to sacrifices already in Hos 14:3 ("we will render the offerings of our lips for bullocks;" cf. LXX, where "bullocks" were substituted by καρπόν "fruit") and Ps 141:2 ("let my prayer be set forth before you as incense"); cf. Ps 50:14; 69:31–32; 107:21–22; 141:2; Prov 15:8; *Pr. Azar.* 15–18; and 11QPs[a] 18.10–11. Prayers were considered as a substitute or analogy of sacrificial offerings both by Jews (CD 11.20–21; 1QS 9.3–5) and by early Christians (see, e.g., Tertullian, *Scap*. 2).

For the context of Baruch's revelation given on the ruins of the recently destroyed Temple,[494] it is relevant to mention the conception of prayers taking place of sacrifices specifically after the destruction of Jerusalem (*Sifre* Deut 41; *y. Ber.* 5.5d; *b. Ber.* 26b; *b. Meg*. 31b; *b. Taan.* 27b; *Lev. Rab*. 7.3; *Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 6). On the one hand, the view of the prayer offering of the subsequent chapters may be the ultimate purpose of the vision, its promised "greater mystery" and also an answer to why Baruch should not "care much for the salvation of Jerusalem" (1:3), when the celestial Temple takes place of the terrestrial one, and prayers (as in S; or more general – "virtues" and "good deeds" as in G) take place of the sacrifice.[495] On the other hand, the acceptance of prayers may promise a restoration of the Temple service, like in the plea for the restoration of the Temple in Dan 9:17 and many Rabbinic prayers, following the logic of the saying, "When prayer comes, the Temple service will come" (*b. Meg*. 18a).

Altogether, verse 11:4 is the only instance where G and S agree on what angels bring to Michael. Whereas G varies between "prayers of men" (11:4), "virtues of men and good works" (11:9), "virtues of the righteous" (12:5), "virtues of men" (14:2), "good deeds" (15:2), S sticks consistently to "prayers of men" in all these verses (11:4; 11:9; 14:2; 15:2; the verse 12:5 lacks in S). The importance of prayer is mentioned again also only in S (15:3S and 16:4S; see below). The discrepancy between G and S might go back to an actual identification of the two concepts, "prayers" and "virtues": Gk ἀρεταί, in fact, may mean also "praises" of God rendering in

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494 Which according to many Rabbinic sources is placed opposite to the celestial sanctuary (*Mek*. Shira 10; *y. Ber.* 4.8a; *b. Taan.* 16a; *Gen. Rab*. 55.7; *Cant. Rab*. 3.10 and 4.4; *Pesiq. R*. 40; *Tan. B*. 1.112; *Tan.* Pequde 1–2; *Midr. HaG*. 1.454; *Midr. Pss*. 30.233; *Midr. Sam*. 1.45).

495 Thus Wright: "ascent whose pupose is to convince "Baruch" that God does attend to human prayer" ("Baruch, his evolution," 279).

LXX Heb תהילה (Isa 42:8 et al.), the meaning of which is not very far from "prayer." Prayer is one of the most important "virtues" for Philo (he uses the same word as in *3 Baruch* – ἀρεταί; *Plant*. 40.126).

The tendency of S may be integrated into the widely known motif of angelic intercession for human prayers (chs. 11–14; for parallels see comm. to ch. 12). The gate opening in order to receive the prayers is also well known (11:5; *T. Adam* 1:10; cf. *y. Ber.* 4.7c; *Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 24.2; *b. Yoma* 87b). However, the very prevalence of the motif and especially the similarity of the accounts of the Prayer Offering in *3 Bar.* 12–15 and Rev 5 and 8 could have influenced the Slavic editor and led him to harmonize the text in this direction, emending "virtues" to "prayers" (see comm. to 12:1). Bauckham proposed an explanation of why prayer would be so central an issue between God and men in *3 Baruch*. In light of the Deuteronomistic paraphrases in Prologue and ch. 16 referring to the fate of Israel (see comm. ibid.), he regards the final scene to be a prayer for mercy in the context of the Destruction: "as God has punished his people in response to their evil, so he will have mercy in response to their prayers."[496]

The offering of celestial prayer is connected to the topic of attendance at public prayer presented in three passages of dubious authenticity, one in G and two in S. Neither passage appears in both versions, but all three passages share a common topic and terminology, which must indicate that this topic was somehow represented also in the common proto-text of G and S:

13:4G	15:3S	16:4S
For we do not see them ever entering into assembly [or "church"], either into spiritual fathers or into any good thing[497]	Be not idle, but prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple [or "church" or "assembly"]	They do not fear God and they do not come to the Temple [or "church" or "assembly"] and to the place of prayers[498]
οὐ γὰρ εἴδομεν αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ποτέ οὐδὲ εἰς πνευματικοὺς πατέρας οὐδὲ εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἕν	**не лѣните сѧ нѫ молитвоѭ въ свѧтыѩ црькви припадаѭще**	**не боѩтъ сѧ бг҃а и не приходѧтъ бъ црькъвъ и на молитвъ мѣсто**

496 "Apocalypses," 185.

497 S has instead: "For their wives flee to the Temple, and from there they bring them out to jealousy and to fornication and to envy, and they strive to many other things, which you, O Glorious One, know" **ꙗко въ црьквь прибѣгаѭтъ жены ихъ отътѫдоу изводѧтъ ꙗ на ревности и на блѫды и на зависти{и} и на ина многа тъщѧтъ сѧ ꙗже ты веси прѣславне**. What is meant remains enigmatic.

498 13:4G also mentions either "assemblies" or "churches," but adjacent to "priests," which make the latter meaning more plausible there.

In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the only fault of the sinners mentioned specifically is that they are "not making so much as one pure prayer out of their whole heart all the time of their life" (10). The account most similar to the three passages of *3 Baruch (*especially to 16:4S) appears in *Apoc. Sedr.* 14:10. In both writings angels are saddened by men (13:1S) because of their neglect of communal prayer (13:4G); "assemblies" and "churches" are mentioned as probably different phenomena (cf. "Temple/church" and "the place of prayers" in 16:4S), and the need for "prostrating" is mentioned (15:3S):

> They [baptized but wicked] cause sorrow to my angels, and of certainty in my assemblies and in my services they do not heed my angels and they do not stand in my holy churches; [and when they do] they stand and do not prostrate themselves in fear and trembling, but they pronounce long words which neither I nor my angels accept.

All three passages were usually considered as Christian interpolations, due to the use of two terms – Gk ἐκκλησία / CS **црьковь** (in all passages) and πνευματικοὶ πατέρες (of 13:4G). If the latter combination is overtly Christian,[499] the former term is less obvious. It was understood as "church," although the primarily meaning of Gk ἐκκλησία as a regular equivalent of Heb קהל "assembly," "community" (cf., e.g., 1 Kgs 8:65; Joel 2:16; Ps 40:10) is also plausible here. Cf. especially εἰσελθεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ "enter an assembly" in 13:4G and a common Biblical and Rabbinic idiom **לבוא** בקהל, lit. "enter an assembly," i.e., "to become a part of the community," literally rendered in LXX: οὐκ εισελεύσεται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου (Deut 23 pass.; Lam 1:10). The combination "holy community" (Aram **קהלא קדישא**) is well known to Jewish sources as well (*b. Ber.* 9b and *passim*). The idea of

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[499] Gk πνευματικοὶ πατέρες "spiritual fathers" is the late Christian term referring to monks, church leaders, especially bishops, or godparents. However, the title "father" was attested among Jews (e.g., Matt 23:9) and the substantivized adj. "spiritual" with Gnostics. Cf. a Valentinian term πνευματικοί referring to chosen "spiritual" Gnostics opposed to those called "psychic" and "material" (Irenaeus, *Exc. Theod.* 56.2; *Haer.* 1.4–7; see Pearson, *Pneumaticos-Psychikos*, xii, 147.). Cf. also Mythraic initiation grade of *patres sacrorum* (*MMM*, 2.535). Michael Schneider suggests to understand πνευματικοὶ πατέρες as denoting guarding angels themselves, basing on the regular rendering of angels as "spiritual [beings]" and on the readings **מלאך אבות משמרו** of 4Q369 2.1 as "angel of intercession is guarding" and **אוחזי אבות** of 1QS 2.9 as "intercessors" (see Wernberg-Møller, *Manual*, 53–54). He states that angelic guardins must be especially intersted in the perfomance of the earthly liturgy ("entering into assembly" of the same verse), which is necessary to ebnable celestial liturgy and intercession according to many Jewish and Christian traditions (e.g., *Sifre Deut.* 306).

a permanent place for a prayer – public and even individual – must be old (some base it on Isa 26:20). See "Jacob had a secluded place where he entered to offer his prayers before the Lord in the night and in the day" (*T. Jacob* 1:9). The duty to attend synagogue and pray there is well attested in Rabbinic texts:

> R. Huna said, "Anyone who does not enter the synagogue in this world will nor enter the synagogue in the afterlife" … R. Yohanan said, "One who prays at home is as if surrounded with the iron wall" … R. Abba and R. Hiyya said in the name of R. Yohanan, "A person must pray in a place designated for prayer [מקום שהוא מיוחד לתפילה] … R. Pinehas said in the name of R. Yohanan Hoshaya, "One who prays in the synagogue it is as if he offers a pure offering [מנחה טהורה]." (*y. Ber.* 5.5d)

> R. Helbo said in the name of R. Huna, "Everyone who has a fixed place for his prayer [כל הקובע מקום לתפלתו] has the God of Abraham as his helper. And when he dies, people will say of him, 'Alas, the pious man! Alas, the humble man, one of the disciples of our father Abraham!' And how do we know that our father Abraham had a fixed place [for his prayer]? For it is written, 'And Abraham got up early in the morning to the place where he had stood' [Gen 19:27], and "standing" means nothing else but prayer, as said: 'Then stood up Phineas and prayed'" [Ps 106:30]. (*b. Ber.* 6b; cf. 7b–8a)

Note also the vision of the torments of the sinners in *Gedulat Moshe*, some of which were hanged by their feet, because among other transgressions "they did not walk to the synagogue to offer prayer to their Creator" and others because they "despised the sages."[500] For possible opposition to public prayer or at least reservation about it see Matt 6:5–8.

With the Slavonic counterpart of Gk ἐκκλησία – CS **црьковь** – the range of possibilities is even wider. It may mean not only "church" or "assembly, community" but also "temple" rendering not only Gk ἐκκλησία, but also ναός or ἱερόν. The combination of "temple/church" and "place of prayer" (16:4S) as different phenomena may also be regarded not in Christian but in Jewish context, as referring to the Temple and synagogue, i.e., sacrificial service and communal prayer.[501] In this case, 13:4G and 15:3S would refer to attendance at the Temple, while 16:4S would refer to attendance at both the Temple and places of communal prayer. Temple sacrificial service and prayer (including prayer in the Temple) were the two main modes of worship before the Destruction, even for many diaspora Jews; thus, Philo "journeyed to the Temple of my native land to offer *prayers and sacrifices*" (*Prov.* 2.64 apud Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 8.14.386–399). On Sabbath a man shall not do any

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[500] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 2.311.

[501] Cf., e.g., *Lam. Rab.* Intr. 12: "R. Pinehas said in the name of R. Hoshaya, 'There were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem, apart from the Temple.'"

work "except to praise the Lord in the assembly of the elders and to glorify the Mighty One in the council of the older men" (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8). The call to "prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple" in 15:3S can also be connected to Jewish practices. The Temple (or possibly another Jewish place of worship) is called the "House of Prostration" (Heb בית השתחות) in CD 11.23 and 4QD[f] 3.1.15. Prostration was among central elements of the Temple liturgy (Sir 50:16–17; *m. Tamid*. 7.3; cf. Deut 26:10; 1 Chr 16:29; Ps 5:8; Isa 27:13; Jer 26:2; Ezek 26:3; John 4:19–24; etc.). The main obstacle for such an interpretation lay in the fact that according to the Prologue the Temple does not exist when Baruch receives the revelation.

It is difficult to say whether these passages, or some of them, could reflect the rudiments of the original Jewish text. Whereas 13:4G with its Christian terminology and 15:3S with its reference to the contemporary "temple" look more like Christian interpolations or reworkings, 16:4S might have referred to the past and be mentioned among the reasons for the destruction of the Temple.

11:7G. *Interpreter of the revelations* (ὁ τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις διερμηνεύων). The same title is applied to Gabriel in Dan 9:23 and to Ramiel in *2 Bar.* 55:3.

11:8. *Flat bowl / receptacle* (φιάλη / **хранильница**). This CS form corresponds usually to Gk θήκη, φιλακή (also semantically as "preservation vessel"); ms T has **коупель** (Gk κολυμβήθρα). The ministering angels hold "flat bowls" (also Gk φιάλας) with prayers in Rev 5:8, while "another angel" there offers the incense from the "censer" (Gk λιβανωτός; Rev 8:3; see cited in the introductory comm. to ch. 12). The former must functionally correspond to the "baskets" of 12:1G, and the latter to the "flat bowl" here. In the angelic liturgy of *Apoc. Mos.* 33:4 the angels hold as θυμιατήρια so also φιάλας:

> And I saw golden censers and three flat bowls, and behold all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the incense offering and blew upon it, and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmament. And the angels fell down to God, crying aloud and saying, "Jael, Holy One, have pardon, for he is your image, and the work of your holy hands!" (*Apoc. Mos.* 33:4–5)

Whatever vessel is meant in *3 Baruch*, it must have liturgic prototypes and be connected to the priestly role of Michael; cf., e.g., Gk φιάλη rendering Heb מזרק "sprinkling pan" (Exod 27:3; 38:3); see also the receptacles of the anointing oil, Gk κέρας, Heb קרן (1 Sam 16:13; 1 Kgs 1:39), Gk φακός, Heb פך (1 Sam 10:1; 2 Kgs 9:1).

The dimensions of the bowl – its "depth was like [the distance] from heaven to earth, and its width like [the distance] from north to south," are comparable to the dimensions of heaven as given in 2:4–5 (see comm. ibid.). The angel Sandalphon, who is bringing men's prayers to God, is also of enormous size.[502] David Halperin notes on the bowl of *3 Baruch*:

> I am a little surprised that there are so many righteous people on earth that their merits would fill a container of such size, and I suspect that the underlying idea is that of a channel which conveys the merits from earth to heaven. (This would explain the Greek text of the end of 11:9, which ought to be translated: "which are escorted *through it* [Gk δι' αὐτοῦ] before the heavenly God.") III Baruch's vessel would then originally have been a sort of inanimate Sandalphon.[503]

According to one possible interpretation the bowl may be intended for the entrance of angels themselves (see next comm.). See another gigantic visionary "bowl," the "bowl of Hades," where the dead are supposed to enter (*Apoc. Ezra* 6:26).[504]

11:9. *This is where the virtues of the righteous ente and the good works that they do / This is where the prayers of men enter* (Τοῦτο ἔστιν ἔνθα προσέρχονται αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ὅσα ἐργάζονται ἀγαθα / **се есть идѣже въходатъ молитвы чловечѧ**). It is difficult to decide which reading, "virtues" or "prayers," is original. The same discrepancy occurs below: "prayers of men" in S corresponds to "virtues of men" (14:2) and "good deeds" (15:2) of G; for "virtues of the righteous" in 12:5 there is no equivalent in S (see comm. to 11:4 above).

In *T. Abr.* 4:6, Michael presents the virtues of Abraham to God: "I am unable to proclaim the notice of death to that just man. For I have not seen a man like him on the earth – merciful and hospitable, just, truthful, God-fearing, abstaining from every evil deed."[505]

The convention of listing four basic virtues is found in both pagan and Jewish sources of the Hellenistic and Roman periods (the number is preserved even when the content varies). The cardinal "four virtues" of Plato

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[502] "He is taller than his companions by the distance of a five-hundred-year journey. He stands behind the Chariot and weaves wreaths for his Creator" (*b. Hag.* 13b). These wreaths are weaved of prayers according to *Midr. Konen* 26 (see citation in comm. to "flowers" in 12:1).

[503] Halperin, *Faces*, 134.

[504] Cf. also Phoenician *phialae* found throughout the Mediterranean and containg sometimes the depictions of cosmos, including ouraborus, griffin, winged sun disks, chariots (Markoe, *Phoenician*; Marinatos, "Cosmic," 390–94).

[505] Allison, *T. Abr.*, 140.

(*Phaed.* 69c; *Rep.* 4.428; *Leg.* 631c) – wisdom (Gk φρόνησις or σοφία), courage (ἀνδρεία), moderation (σωφροσύνη), and justice (δικαιοσύνη) – became a universally known element of Greek ethics (especially of Stoics), influencing Jewish thought as well. Cf. four virtues of righteousness: "moderation and prudence, justice and courage" (Wis 8:7) and almost identical lists in 2 Macc 1:18ff; 4 Macc 5:22; Philo, *Leg. All.* 1.19.71–72 (cf. *Prob.* 10; *Cher.* 2.12; *Quaest. Gen* 1.12; et al.). There are different lists of four: prayer, fasting, charity, and righteousness (Tob 12:8–10); "Let his Presence dwell only with the strong, the rich, the wise, and the humble'" (*b. Ned.* 38a and par.; according to *m. Ab.* 4.1, strength corresponds to moderation, and richness to modesty, two other virtues are wisdom and respect). There are also lists of three, but these triads tend to refer to fundamental values rather than to virtues: "[the study of] the Law, [divine] service, and good deeds" (*m. Ab.* 1.2); "truth, justice, and peace" (ibid. 1.18); "faith, hope, and charity" (1 Cor 13:13); "prayer, charity, and repentance" (*y. Sanh.* 10.2). There are also expanded lists, e.g., "chastity and purity with patience and prayer, with fasting in humility of heart" (*T. Jos.* 10:1–2); cf. Sir 2.1–4.10.[506]

Whereas types of vice are defined thrice in the text of *3 Baruch* (4:17; 8:15; 13:4), the content of positive moral demands is not mentioned at all. At the same time, the very term and the symbolic representation of virtues may be more informative:

(1) *Botanic representation.* It is not unique for *3 Baruch*: virtues have a shape of flowers according to 12:5 (see comm. ibid.), and they are allegorized by the Trees of Paradise in Philo's works (*Plant.* 8–9.32–37; *Leg. All.* 1.31.97; cf. *Agr.* 4.17; *Quaest. Gen.*1.6; see comm. to 4:7S: *Paradise of Virtues*).

(2) *Number.* At the same time, in accordance with the Hellenistic set of the cardinal virtues, the Trees of Paradise are four and are planted by four archangels (excluding Sammael and his tree) in 4:7S.

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[506] The Amora R. Simlai compiled lists reducing the commandments to basic virtues; he already does not mention the list of the four among other figures of his catalogue (or probably he has not found a biblical prooftext for this number): "613 commandments were given to Moses. King David came and reduced them to eleven [Ps 15]. The prophet Isaiah further reduced them to six [Isa 33]. Micah reduced them to three: 'He has shown you, O man, what is good … to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" [6:8]. Isaiah again reduced them to two [Isa 56]. The prophet Amos placed them all upon one principle: 'Seek me and live' [Amos 5:4]; or, as the prophet Habakkuk said, 'The just shall live by his faith'" (*b. Mak.* 23b–24a).

(3) *Term*. The very term "Virtues" is known to be an angelic title. Michael is one of two Virtues who help Eve in childbirth: *et ecce venerunt XII angeli et duo Virtutes stantes a dextris et a sinistris Evae. Et Michahel erat stans a dextris* … – "And behold, twelve angels came and two Virtues,[507] standing to the right and to the left of Eve. Michael was standing to her right …" (*Vita* 21:1–2).

Lat *Virtutes* here were supposed to be an equivalent of "the Honoured" ("the Honored, the Holy Ones, that minister to the Most High" – מכובדים קדשים משרתי עליון; *b. Ber.* 60b), but more probably this usage must be connected to personified Ἀρετή of pagan Classic and Hellenistic sources[508] and to Roman cult of "Virtues" (see, e.g., Cicero, *Leg.* 2.11.28; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11.14).[509] The same image of Virtues standing on each side of a woman in childbirth appears in Philo's account of the chaste woman's multiple virtues, in which "all are standing on each side of her, were her bodyguards, while she was in the middle of them" (*Sac.* 5.27). In another work Philo identifies Virtues as angelic beings: "the divine army is the body of virtues, the champions of the souls that love God" (Philo, *Agr.* 17). Virtues are mentioned among angelic classes by Irenaeus: "Angels, Archangels, Powers, Virtues" or "Principalities, Powers, Angels, Archangels, Dominations, Virtues" (*Haer.* 2.30); by Tertullian, discussing the views of Ophites: "These inferior Virtues and angels, therefore, had made man" (*Haer.* 2); by Origen: "the holy angels, and the holy Powers and the blessed Thrones, and the glorious Virtues and the magnificent Dominions" (*Princ.* 1.5.3). See Clement of Alexandria:

> These primitive and first-created Virtues are unchangeable as to substance, and along with subordinate angels and archangels, whose names they share, effect divine operations. Thus also Moses names the Virtue of the angel Michael, by an angel near to himself and of lowest grade. The like also we find in the holy prophets; but to Moses an angel appeared near and at hand. (On *1 John* 2.1 [Cassiodorus 3]).

The term is also applied to angels in some of the *Acta Martyrum*.[510]

Is it possible that this word usage in *3 Baruch* is a rudiment of the textual layer that refers to angels as Virtues? *3 Baruch* uses the term in expressions such as "Virtues of the righteous" (11:9 and 12:5) and "Virtues of men" (14:2). In the same context of the angelic presentation of deeds of humanity in different versions of *Apocalypse of Paul*, angels are also called "angels of

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507 Armenian and Georgian version have "Powers" instead.

508 See *LSJ*, 238, s.v. iv.

509 See Wissowa, "Vermehrung"; Mattingly, "Virtues."

510 See Ruinart, *Acta*, 510, l. 4; 540, 1. 23; Mattingly, "Virtues," 116.

men,"[511] as well as "angels of the righteous;"[512] cf., e.g., "all the *angels of men* and women go to meet God and present all the work which every man has done, whether good or evil" (Latin *Apoc. Paul* 7); "the *angels of the righteous* come, rejoicing and singing psalms, they meet for the worship of the Lord." In addition, see especially two passages of Syriac *Apoc. Paul* which run parallel to *3 Bar.* 11:9 and 12:2–5:

3 Bar. 11:9	*Syriac Apoc. Paul*
This is where the *Virtues of the righteous* enter, and the good works that they do, which are brought through it before the heavenly God."	And those *angels of the righteous* enter, and say to him, "O Lord, we have come now from the holy men, who have come out from the world, for your holy name."
*3 Bar.*12:2–5	*Syriac Apoc. Paul*
And I asked the angel, "Lord, who are these,	And I asked the angel who was with me, "Who are these, my Lord?"
{and what are the things brought by them?" And he told me, "These are angels who are over the principalities." And the archangel having taken the baskets put them into the flat bowl.}	
And the angel told me, "These {flowers} are the *Virtues of the righteous*."	And he said, "These are the *angels of righteousness*."

Both 11:9 and 14:2 may fit well with an understanding of "virtues" as angels. In the former text Baruch is shown the place where angelic virtues enter a higher realm (as Michael actually does in 14:1),[513] and in 14:2 Michael presents the angelic virtues of men to God. In this case, the definition that refers to flowers in 12:5 must have initially referred to the angels (see the reconstruction above; with 12:3–4 as probably later development), or alternatively the whole verse (absent in s) belongs to a later textual layer.

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[511] Concerning guardian angels see introductory comm. to ch. 12.

[512] Cf. צדיק מלאכי שלום מלוין לו (*Tan.* Vaishlah 8).

[513] This may also explain the extraordinary dimensions of the bowl *in* or *through* which the Virtues enter (see comm. to "flat bowl" in 11:8).

Flower Offering: Righteous (12:1–5)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And while I was talking with them, behold, angels came carrying little baskets full of flowers.	1 And, while I was talking, and behold, angels came, carrying offerings full of flowers.
2 And they gave them to Michael.	
And I asked the angel, "Lord, who are these,	2 And I said, "Lord, who are these?"
and what are the things brought by them?"	
3 And he told me, "These are the angels [who are] over the principalities."	3 And he told me, "These are the angels who are in the power of men.
4 And the archangel having taken the baskets cast them into the flat bowl.	4 And Michael took the offerings from them and put them in the receptacle.
5 And the angel told me, "These flowers are the virtues of the righteous."	

NOTES

12:1S. Thus ms T, which agrees with the word order of G. Other mss place **сѣ** "behold" (Gk ἰδού) in the beginning of the verse.

12:1S *Offerings full of flowers* (**дарꙑ плънꙑ цвѣтиꙗ**). Literally "gifts full of flowers" (cf. **дарꙑ** also in 15:3S). CS **дарꙑ** usually reproduces Gk δῶρα, either "[sacrificial] gifts, offerings" (like Biblical Gk δῶρον rendering Heb מנחה)[514] or less probably "palms."[515] In the latter case the Greek *Vorlage* of S would have "angels carrying full palms of flowers." Ms T has instead: "incenses (CS **кадила**) of the righteous, and they were full of flowers" (in 12:4 and 5 "gifts" are substituted by **кандила** "incenses" and also "lamps," "candles") most probably under the influence of Rev 5:8 identifying prayers with angelic incense offerings (cf. comm. to 11:4 and 12:1).

12:3G. *The angels [who are] over the principalities* (ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν). Ryssel suggests to emend ἐξουσιῶν to δικαίων, and thus reads: "angels [who are] over the righteous." See comm. ad loc.

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514 See *HR*, 359; cf. *LPG* 395. In this meaning it is used twice in *Apoc. Abr.* (13:2 and 29:18).

515 *LSJ*, 465.

COMMENTARY

Angelic Intercession

The angels were widely known as those who intercede for humans and bring their prayers to God. The very idea could be connected to the common Hebrew root for both concepts, of intercession and of prayer (פלל). The intentional word play on both meanings of the root is found in the theological statement of Eli: "If a man sins against man, then God intercedes for him [פללו], but if a man sins against God, who will pray for him [יתפלל-לו]?" (1 Sam 2:25). Eli's rhetorical question is challenged by the idea of angelic intercession: angels are the ones who intercede for humans and convey their prayers;[516] they also respond to prayers or help the praying.[517]

The function of intermediaries between God and men was known to Plato: daemons (δαίμονες) are "interpreting and transporting human things to the gods and divine things to men; entreaties and sacrifices from below, and ordinances and requitals from above" (*Symp.* 202e). There are "middle creatures" which are "holding the third and middle space, the source of interpretation … They interpret all men and all things both to one another and to the most exalted gods, because the middle creatures move both to earth and to the whole heaven" (*Epin.* 984d–985b). Philo has merged Greek and Jewish concepts (which could have had universal mythological roots at the beginning): "Beings whom other philosophers called daemons, Moses usually called angels" (Philo, *Somn.* 1.22); "they both convey the biddings of the Father to his children and report the children's need to their Father" (*Abr.* 23.115).

Specifically, Michael, playing the main role in the intercessory process as described in *3 Baruch*, is called "intercessor" in *2 En.* 33:10 and carries prayers of men in *T. Abr.* 9:2–3. In the *Apocalypse of Paul* he says: "It is I who stand in the presence of God every hour … For one day or one night I do not cease from praying continually for the human race, and I pray for those who are still on earth" (43). He was known as an angel of prayer to

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[516] See esp. Zech 1:12; Job 5:1; 9:33; 16:19–21; 19:25–27; 33:23; *1 En.* 6–11; 15:2; 39:5; 40:6; 47:2; 68:3–4; 89:76; 90:14, 17; 99:3; 104:1; Tob 12:12, 15; *2 En.* 19:5; 33:10; *T. Abr.* 9:2–3; *T. Levi* 3:5–7; 5:6; *T. Dan* 6:2; *Apoc. Mos.* 33; Philo, *Somn.* 1.22; *Gig.*; Matt 18:10 (cf. "Spirit" in analogous role in John 16; Rom 8); *Apoc. Paul* 43; and *Exod. Rab.* 21.4.

[517] So, e.g., Gen 21:15–19; Tob 3:16–17; *2 Bar.* 63:5–11; 2 Macc 3:15–35; 10:25–30; 11:6–11; 3 Macc 6:17–23; *Pr. Azar.* 26, 27; Matt 26:53; Luke 1:13, 19, 20; Acts 12:1–11; *Gen. Rab.* 85; *b. Ber.* 10b; *Pes.* 118a; *Shab.* 152b; *Nid.* 16b; *Sanh.* 94a, 95b; *Ar.* 15a; *B. Bat.* 25a; *Ned.* 32a; *Exod. Rab.* 21; and *Midr. Ps.* 88.4.

Origen: "to Michael is assigned the duty of attending to the prayers and supplications of mortals" (*Princ.* 1.8.1). See Gabriel who similarly is said to pray for humanity in *1 En.* 40:6, 9. In Tobit this is Raphael's function: "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the Glory of God" (Tob 12:15).

In an extreme form, the role of angels as intercessors led some people to pray to angels or even to worship them. These practices were condemned by the Rabbis and by early Christian authorities. See the condemnation of angelolatry in Col 2:18;[518] its rejection in Rev 19:10; 22:8–10;[519] and note the Jewish angelolatry mentioned in *Kerygma Petrou*. "They [Jews] adore angels and archangels, the months and the moon" (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.5.41); "they adore sky and the angels" (Origen, *Cels.* 1.26, 5.6), cf. also Tertullian, *Praescr. Haer.* 23.[520] Pseudo-Philo condemns the sacrifice to angels (*Bib. Ant.* 34:2), but also mentions the "offering for your Watchers" of the New Year service in a neutral context (*Bib. Ant.* 13:6). Jeremiah prays to Michael in the Ethiopic *5 Bar.* 9:5. The Rabbis postulated: "If one slaughters an animal in the name of the sun, moon, stars, planets, and Michael the Great commander-in-chief and the tiny worm, it is regarded like flesh sacrificed to dead"(השוחט לשום חמה לשום לבנה לשם ככבים לשם מזלות לשם מיכאל שר צבא הגדול ולשום שלשול קטן הרי זה בשר זבחי מתים; *t. Hul.* 2.18; cf. *b. Abod. Zar.* 41b and *y. Ber.* 9.13a cited in introductory comm. to ch. 11 and *Mek.* Yitro 10). The worship to Metatron is mentioned in *b. Sanh.* 38b.[521]

All this evidence indicates that these practices were known.[522] Also our Baruch calls his guiding angel "Lord" (5:1; 6:4, 9; 11:2, 3, 8; 12:2), the same title he used before that while communicating with God (T:1; 1:2); in contrast to the visionary of *Asc. Isa.* 8:5, he is not prevented by the angel from addressing him thus (in the *Ascension of Isaiah* an angel says: "I am not your Lord, but your fellow-servant"). Although such an address to angels is found in other sources, from Gen 18:3 to *Apoc. Paul* 11, here, in combination with other factors, it may indicate that *3 Baruch* either shared some of the angelolatric beliefs or at least developed from a context in which they were relevant. This supposition is supported by the fact that our visionary is deprived of direct communication with God (cf. esp. "be silent"

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[518] If not angelic liturgy is meant here; cf. below.

[519] Cf. Stuckenbruck, "Refusal," 979–89.

[520] Cf. Simon, "Remarques."

[521] More evidence for early Jewish prayers to angels is assembled by Meir Bar-Ilan ("Prayers").

[522] Cf. however Hurtado who argues against this suggestion (*One God*, 28–34).

of 1:3S), and that his heavenly experience focuses on angelic beings, especially animated anthropomorphic luminaries, and reaches its highest point in the encounter with Michael (note that the luminaries are attested as main objects of angelolatry worship; cf. comm. to ch. 6 and 11:4).

Angelic Service

In many cases, angelic intercession is institutionalized as priestly service in the heavenly Temple:

> The highest, and in the truest sense the holy temple of God is, as we must believe, the whole universe, having for its sanctuary the most sacred part of all existence, even heaven, for its votive ornaments the stars, for its priests the angels who are servitors to his powers … (Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.12.66)

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* say that "the holiest of the holy ones" "have become for him priests," "ministers of the Presence in the Sanctuary of his Glory [כבודו משרתי פנים בדביר]" (4Q400.1). Similar to priests, angels could wear linen or white clothing (e.g., *T. Levi* 8). Cf. also *T. Levi* 3:5–6; *Apoc. Mos.* 33:4–5 (cited above).

Also our Baruch, at the ultimate point of his ascent, observes how the communication between men and God is made possible through angelic mediation, applied to prayer and to celestial judgment and reward. The mediation is placed in a liturgical setting and presented as an angelic offering service (chs. 12–15). The service consists of the following rites:

1. *Flowers Offering* of men's prayers, virtues and good deeds, divided into two ceremonies:
   - Angels transmit the offerings to Michael (chs. 12–13).
   - Michael passes the offerings to the "higher heaven" behind the closed gate. This ceremony is not visible (ch. 14).
2. *Oil Reward* distributed by Michael on his return (ch. 15).

Until the last point, the angels function as priests and Michael as the high priest, according to well-attested models of terrestial liturgies. However, the celestial service, unlike most earthly services, is interactive: it involves an offering that is immediately followed by a reward. Whereas the procedure of angelic service in *3 Baruch* is clearly described,[523] neither the timing of the ceremony in relation to human life nor the exact content of the offering are made clear. It might refer to either *prayer* or *judgment* (especially according to G, which consistently reads "virtues" instead of "prayers"). It might be

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[523] For its similarity to Jewish and pagan cultic practices, see comm. to 12:1G.

timed *daily* or *annually*; and if judgment is meant, it may be situated either in an *afterlife*, or in an *eschatological* setting. The closest parallels ascribe similar descriptions to prayer (Rev 5:8; 8:3–5; *T. Adam* 1:9) and to an appointed time of every day (*Apoc. Paul* 7; *T. Adam* 1:9). Cf. the Prayer Offerings as described in the Book of Revelation:

> the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders fell down before the Lamb, each one holding flat bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the holy ones (Rev 5:8) … And another angel who had a golden censer came and stood at the altar. To him were given many incenses in order to offer them with the prayers of all the holy ones upon the golden altar before the Throne. And the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the holy ones, went up before God out of the angel's hand. Then the angel took the censer and filled it with the fire of the altar, and threw it to the earth; and there followed peals of thunder and sounds and flashes of lightning and an earthquake. (Rev 8:3–5)[524]

The book of Revelation may contain the description of the Prayer Offering as part of an angelic liturgy, a procedure that belongs to the same model as in *3 Baruch*. The two-staged procedure described in *3 Bar.* 12–15 coherently and in detail as an offering of *flowers*, appears as an *incense offering* in Rev 5:8 and 8:3–5.[525] Both Revelation and *3 Baruch* refer first to a group of angels holding either baskets of flowers (*3 Bar.* 12:1) or bowls with incense (Rev 5:8), which in both texts are defined as prayers, and then either Michael (*3 Bar.* 14) or "another" angel (Rev 8:3) offers the gifts in his vessel (flat bowl in *3 Bar.* 11:8 and censer in Rev 8:5). In *3 Bar.* 15, Michael, having filled emptied baskets with celestial oil, returns them to the angels; in Revelation, "another angel" fills the emptied censor with the fire of the altar and casts it onto earth (Rev 8:5). The obvious similarity between the texts could have led to a Slavic translator or editor acquainted with the text of Revelation changing "virtues" to "prayers" in the whole account. Cf. ms T for 12:1S, which inserts "incenses" instead of "flowers,"probably under the same influence (see Notes ibid.).

The closest parallel to the angelic service described in *3 Baruch*, though more detailed, is found in *Apocalypse of Paul*. It is not clear whether the similarity is a result of mutual dependence or a source held in common with *3 Baruch*. This text attributes the ceremony to the fixed daily time:[526]

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[524] Cf. also the angelic offering of wreaths in Rev 4:10 (see comm. to "flowers" in 12:1). For prayers as offerings see comm. to 11:4.

[525] On real liturgical practices as possible prototypes for the service of *3 Bar.*, see comm. to 12:1 below

[526] Cf. *Apoc. Zeph.* 11, where the souls of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and other righteous beseech God on behalf of the tormented sinners once a day.

> At the hour of morning, which is the twelfth hour of the night, do all the angels of men and women go to meet God and present all the work which every man hath wrought, whether good or evil. And every day and night do the angels present unto God the account of all the deeds of mankind … At the hour appointed, therefore, all the angels, every one rejoicing, come before God together to meet him and worship him at the hour that is set. (*Apoc. Paul* 7)

The further account in *Apoc. Paul* 7–10 speaks of two groups of angels: one group, "rejoicing," represents those "who have renounced the world for your holy name's sake, wandering as strangers and in the caves of the rocks, and weeping every hour that they dwell on the earth and hungering and thirsting for your name; with their loins girt, holding in their hands the incense of their heart, and praying and blessing at every hour, suffering anguish and subduing themselves, weeping and lamenting more than all that dwell on the earth." The second group of "other angels" is said to be weeping and represents those "who have been called upon your name, and the snares of the world have made them wretched, devising many excuses at all times, and not making so much as one pure prayer out of their whole heart all the time of their life." As in *3 Bar.* 13:3–5 the latter group asks in vain to release them from the sinners, and both groups receive their due rewards.

In the *Testament of Adam* angels bring prayers (as in Revelation) on a daily basis (as in the *Apocalypse of Paul*):

> And at the ninth hour the angels perform their service of homage to God, and the prayer of the children of men comes into the presence of God the Most High. And at the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and God hears the prayer of the children of the believers, and the petition which they ask from God is granted to them. (*T. Adam* 1:9)

This text also features a gate opening for prayers and further similarities with *3 Baruch* (see comm. to 6:13; 11:5).[527]

Among the many other depictions of angelic intercessive service, the two-staged model of angelic representation (involving the transmission of human deeds from a group of angels to one delegate) is found also in *Apoc. Zeph.* 3–4 (Akhmimic fragment), although there it is not placed in a liturgical, but a juridical setting:[528]

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[527] There are also later parallels on angelic ceremonies corresponding to human prayers; see, e.g., *Hekh. Rabbati* 8–12.

[528] As in, e.g., Mal 3:16; *Jub.* 5:13; *m. Abot* 2.1; 3.6; *b. Rosh HaSh.* 16b–17a; etc.

> I said, "O angel, who are these?" He said, "These are the angels of the Lord Almighty. They write down all the good deeds of the righteous upon their scrolls as they watch at the gate of heaven." And I take them from their hands and bring them up before the Lord Almighty. He writes their name in the Book of the Living. Also the angels of the accuser who is on earth, they also write down all the sins of men upon their scrolls. They also sit at the gate of heaven. They tell the accuser and he writes them upon his scroll so that he might accuse them when they come out of the world (and go) down there."

Here the angelic service has more to do with judgment than with prayer, and it is hardly daily.

If the service in Revelation corresponds to the daily mourning incense offering in the Temple of Jerusalem (as known from Exod 30:7; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.171, 276; *m. Tam.* 3.2; 4–7),[529] the service of *3 Baruch* may resemble either the first fruits offerings (see comm. to 12:1G) or the Day of Atonement service (see comm. to ch. 14), both of which were annual events. In chs. 14–15 we will examine other possible interpretations of the service which may connect it to a lifetime or eschatological judgment.

Guardian Angels and Angels of Nations

In *3 Baruch* the angels are not only celestial priests and intercessors for human prayers and deeds, they are also "given" to men (13:1), have to "remain with" (or even "are attached to" – Gk προσμένειν with dat.) them (13:3), and "are not able to get away from them" without permission (13:2). Angels assigned to men (i.e., guardian angels) are well known in Jewish sources,[530] and the idea is widespread in different cultures. For instance, analogous functions were attributed to Babylonian "personal gods" (in distinction to the celestial ones).[531] Greek δαίμων and Roman *genius* are likewise analogous phenomena. It is not always possible to discern between general mediatory and personal protective function of these beings (see citations from Plato and Philo above).

There are further similarities between *3 Baruch* and Plato concerning retribution: daemons as mediators "show extraordinary kindness to any one of us who is good and true and hate him who is utterly evil" (*Epin.* 985a). Compare this with *3 Bar.* 12:7; 13:1–4 and *Apoc. Paul* 8 which pres-

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529 Bauckham, *Climax*, 80.

530 E.g., Ps 34:7; 91:11; *Jub.* 6:5–6; 35:17; *Bib. Ant.* 11:12; 15:5; 59:4; *T. Benj.* 6:1; *Vita* 8:3 (7:4); Matt 18:10; Acts 12:15; *Tg. Jer.* Gen 33:10; *t. Abod. Zar.* 1.17–18; *b. Ber.* 60b; *Hag.* 16a; *Sanh.* 94a; and *Tan.* Mishpatim 19. Cf. *1 En.* 100:5 where the angelic guardians of the souls are mentioned.

531 Jastrow, *Religion*, 253–93, 328–406.

ent angelic compassion or antipathy to the men they are assigned to.[532] In other traditions, these accompanying angels may be good or wicked, and influence human beings accordingly. "Angels of Peace" and "angels of Satan" accompany, respectively, the pious and the wicked (*t. Abod. Zar.* 1.17–18 in dependence on Ps 91:11: "He will appoint his angels charge over you"). See the similar views of Stoics: "evil spirits wander up and down, which the gods use as public executioners of unholy and wicked men" (Plutarch, *Quest. Rom.* 51; cf. *Def. Or.* 17). There is no such division in *3 Baruch*; the different statuses or capabilities to influence are not mentioned in relation to mediatory angels, who are simply ascribed to different kinds of men and thus have different functions as messengers, not only of offering but also of reward and punishment (16:2–4). Even though they are "darkened" (13:1), it is because of grief or defilement by human sins (see comm. ibid.). This compares with the views of Philo who, despite dividing angels to beneficial and punitive, states that both kinds "have no participation in wickedness" (*Conf.* 35.177), being "sacred and inviolate by reason of that glorious and blameless ministry." Cf. the Rabbinic idea that "evil inclination [יצר הרע] has no power over angels" (*Gen. Rab.* 48.11). Philo clearly distinguishes between these "punitive" angels, on the one hand, and "evil" ones, fallen angels, and "Satans," one the other hand, who are "slipping into the name of angel" (*Gig.* 4.16–17), not unlike the way *3 Baruch* distinguishes between the angels assigned to the sinners, on the one hand, and Sammael/Sataniel and probably demonic Builders of *3 Baruch*, on the other.

We do not know whether the interceding angels of *3 Baruch* are understood as personal guardian angels or represent entire groups of men. In either case, we also do not know whether they represent only Israel or the whole of humanity. Their title in G, "angels over the principalities" (ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν), might imply that they are rulers of specific regions or nations, while their designation in S as "angels in the power of men" (**ангєли иже въ области человѣчии**) may have an opposite meaning (see comm. and note to 12:3). Plato also assigns to a certain class of daemons the task of being guardians of cities and districts (*Leg.* 4.713cff.). Angels of nations, including the angel of Israel (see comm. to 11:2: *Michael*), are known to many Jewish sources (see e.g. LXX Deut 32:8 (supported by 4QDeut^{j}); *Jub.* 15:31; *Gen. Rab.* 77.3; etc.). According to certain views, however, Israel had no angelic representation at all: "He appointed a Ruler [angel] for every nation, but Israel is the Lords' own portion" (Sir 17:17);

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[532] Wolfson, *Philo*, 1.369ff.

"but over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler" (*Jub.* 15:32); "beloved are Israel, since Scripture does not require them to have a messenger" (חביבין ישראל שלא הצריכן הכתוב לשליח; *b. Yoma* 52a); cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 24.[533] In distinction to these conceptions, *3 Baruch* (and parallels above) focuses on angelic mediation, and (in the case if it serves the whole mankind; cf. comm. to ch. 16) seems to make no distinction between Israel and the nations in this regard: all are equally mediated by angels. Thus *Exodus Rabba*: "What is the difference between us and between the idolaters? We have prophets and they have prophets; we have a guardian angel, and they have a guardian angel" (32.2–3).

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12:1G. *Carrying baskets* (φέροντες κανίσκια). The angels function here as *kanephoroi* of Greek cults (κανηφόροι; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 646; *Ach.* 242; Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 18,2; *IG* II² 334; *Syll.*² 388.32, 711e, 728e). Sculptured images of girls carrying offering baskets on their heads could be seen also in Rome (Cicero, *Ver.* 2.4.5[4.3]; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 26.225 [36.5]). The term used in *3 Baruch* for "basket," Gk κανίσκια "little baskets of reed or cane," diminutive of Gk κάνεον, often designates vessels used in sacred practices: sacrifices (Euripides, *El.* 1142; Menander, *Sam.* 7), votive offerings (*CIG* 2855.2). Like in our text, κάνεον is attested to be carried in processions (e.g., Menander, *Epitr.*).[534]

Below, these baskets are said to be filled with oil (15:2G). Woven baskets can hardly contain oil. Either Gk κανίσκιον or κάνεον designates another kind of vessel appropriate for oil, or more probably the "baskets" here are not wreathed but rather cultic basket-shape vessels made of metals. Such vessels are attested in both pagan (cf. epigraphic sources *IG* 11(2).161B34 and *passim*; 7.2424; *CIG* 2855.21)[535] and Jewish practices (*m. Bik.* 3.8; see below).

The ceremony also resembles the *bikkurim* (first fruits) offerings in the Temple of Jerusalem as described in the Mishna (*m. Bik.*; cf. Exod 23:19; 34:26; Num 18:13; Neh 10:36; Deut 26:1–11; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 2.29; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.8.22 [241]): the *bikkurim* were brought in baskets (Heb טֶנֶא, Gk κάρταλλος, as prescribed in Deut 26:2, 4, 10) through festive processions.

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[533] Sending an angel, including "guardian angels," sometimes is depicted as a punishment, a deprival of direct involvement of God. According to *War Scroll*, Israel is punished by being put under the charge of a guardian angel; cf. *Exod. Rab.* 32.2–3.

[534] For more examples see *LSJ*, 874.

[535] *LSJ*, 874, s.v. κάνεον.

Sometimes these baskets were not wreathed (cf. above): "The rich brought their *bikkurim* in baskets of silver or gold [קלתות של כסף ושל זהב[536]]" (*m. Bik.* 3.8). Flowers in the baskets of angelic processions in *3 Baruch* may visually resemble the *bikkurim* baskets, which were "decorated [with plant] other than the seven species [of fruit]"; "the decoration [עטור] of the *bikkurim* could also be of another kind" (*m. Bik.* 3.9–10). They were similarly transferred to priests: "And the priest shall take the basket from your hand, and set it down before the altar of the Lord your God" (Deut 26:4).

There was also another rite, the meal-offerings, which involved the transfer of offerings from baskets to a "ministering vessel" (as from the "baskets" to the "flat bowl" in *3 Baruch*):

> How is the procedure of meal-offerings? A man brings a meal-offering from his house in silver or golden baskets [קלתות של כסף ושל זהב], places it in a ministering vessel [כלי שרת], hallows it in a ministering vessel, adds to it its oil and frankincense, and carries it to a priest who carries it to the altar." (*b. Sot.* 14b)[537]

Flowers. Flowers are men's "virtues" (12:4G; 14:2G or "prayers" in the probably secondary 14:2S and *passim*). The connection, which can hardly be coincidental, may be traced between these Flowers-Virtues and Flowers of Paradise mentioned in 4:10 above. This connection may be corroborated by two links: (1) as the Trees of Paradise were planted by angels, so also the flowers are brought by them; (2) Trees of Paradise are also Virtues according to Philo's concept of "Paradise of Virtues" (see comm. to 4:7S). In our case (in distinction to Philo), one of the five trees is planted by Sammael,[538] which brings the number into correspondence with the four basic virtues of Hellenistic thought (see above).

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[536] From Gk κάλαθος.

[537] Cf. another similar description. As angels in *3 Baruch* come with their baskets to receive the oil of mercy, so Resh Lakish speaks of the earth coming to God with vessels of its own (clouds) to receive rain waters (see the beginning of the discussion cited in comm. to "rain" in 10:6–8): "In the view of R. Yohanan [believing that rain clouds come from above] it is like a man who presented his neighbor with a cask of wine together with the vessel. In the view of Resh Lakish [believing that rain clouds come from earth] it is like a man who asked his neighbor, "Lend me a *se'ah* of wheat, to which he replied, 'Bring your basket and come and measure it out' [הבא קופתך ובוא מדוד]. Similarly, the Holy One, blessed be he, says to the earth, 'Bring your clouds and receive rain.'" (*Gen. Rab.* 13.11).

[538] Cf. "tares" are planted by the "Enemy"/devil in the Tares Parable (Matt 13:24–43); and in both cases "the harvesters are angels" (Matt 13:37; cf. note to comm. to 4:8 above).

"Angels with flowers" appear, although in quite different context, in the Spanish rescension of *5 Ezra* 1:40 among patriarchs and prophets "coming from the East:"

> I [God] will lead them, together with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Elijah and Enoch, Zachariah and Hosea, Amos, Joel, Micah, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Jonah, Malachi [or: Mattathias], Habakkuk, and twelve angels with flowers (*angelos duodecim cum floribus*).[539]

The Flower Offering of *3 Baruch* may be a part of the tradition which mentions angels bringing wreaths during the celestial liturgy: "the twenty-four elders will fall down before him who sits on the throne, and will worship him who lives forever and ever, and will cast their wreaths before the throne" (Rev 4:10).[540] Gk στέφανος is usually translated here as "crown," but "wreath" is an even more common meaning. Similar to *3 Baruch*, the offered wreaths are identified as prayers woven and brought to God by angels in Rabbinic texts:

> Each day the exalted ones [angels] wreath the blessed Holy One with three "holies," as it says, "Holy, holy, holy." What does the Holy One do? He places one upon his head and two upon the heads of Israel. (*Lev. Rab*. 24.8)

> When Israel pray, you do not find them all praying at the same time, but each assembly prays separately, first one and then another. When they have all finished, the angel appointed over prayers collects all the prayers that have been offered in all the synagogues, weaves them into wreaths [עטרות] and places them upon the head of God. (*Exod. Rab*. 21.4)

See also *Midr. Pss*. 19.7; 88.2. The angel Sandalphon also "stands behind the Chariot and weaves wreaths for his Creator" in *b. Hag*. 13b. These wreath are prayers according to *Midr. Konen* 26:

> On the fifth day … [God] created one wheel on the earth, whose head is opposite the holy Living Creatures. He is an intermediary between the Jews and their father in heaven … His name is Sandalphon; and he weaves wreaths for the Master of Glory from "Holy [holy holy is the Lord of hosts]" and from "Blessed be he," and from "Amen, may his great name [be blessed for ever and ever]," which Jews utter as [liturgical] responses in the synagogue. He then adjures the wreath by the ineffable name, and it ascends by itself to the Lord's head. (*Midr. Konen* 26)

Virtues can also turn into a crown/wreath: the angel of Death says that Abraham's "righteous deeds and your boundless hospitality and the magni-

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[539] For possible interpretations see Bergren. "List." Cf. also the "flowers" promised to the righteous in one of the versions of Ethiopic *Apoc. Pet*. 14 (cited in 10:2 above).

[540] The similarity between *3 Bar*. and Rev 4:10 was noticed by Halperin (*Faces*, 134).

tude of your love for God have become a crown on my head" (*T. Abr.* 17:7).[541]

The Flower Offering also bears a resemblance to the Attic "Feast of Flowers" or Anthesteria (Floralia), considered a Lesser Mystery preliminary to the Eleusinian ones. The three days rites contained activities such as wine drinking, purifying baptism, passing the gate, and invocation of the dead.[542]

12:3. *Angels [who are] over the principalities / the angels who are in the power of men* (ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν / **ангели иже въ области человѣчии сжть**). These angels, are distinguished from Phanuel, who is called "the angel of hosts" (Gk ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων; CS **ангелъ силы**) in 1:8G; 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S and "archangel" in 10:1G (cf. comm. to 1:8G). The title for these angels may mean that they belong to a division called "principalities," ἐξουσίαι (Col 1:5; 1 Pet 3:22; *T. Levi* 3:8; *Asc. Isa.* 2:40; cf. *1 En.* 61:10 et al.). In all these sources they are named either "principalities" or "angels of principalities." The definition identical to the one of *3 Baruch* – οἱ ἐπ' τῶν ἐξουσιῶν – is applied to human high rank officials in LXX Dan 3:3. Cf. "the sixth [angelic] order which is over principalities," whose service is "to rule over kingdoms" (*T. Adam* 4:6). Thus, the title might have also implied that they are responsible for specific regions or nations (on national angels; see introductory comm. to 12).

According to S the angels are "in the power of men." Gaylord notes: "This could be translated also by 'in the region of men' … It is possible that the translator had the extant Greek before him, but did not understand it."[543] The Slavic translator must have understood Gk ἐπί with gen. as with dat. in the sense of "in the power of," "subordinated to."[544] On the other hand, we learn that they are "given" (13:1) and "attached to" (Gk προσμένειν with dat.; 13:3) men and "are not able to get away from them" without a permission (13:2). This may conform to the belief that in some aspects men (at least righteous ones) can have a higher status than angels (Heb 1:4–13; 2:5–9; *Pr. Jos.*; *Gen. Rab.* 17.4; *y. Shab.* 6.9.8d; *b. Sanh.* 38b; *Cant. Rab.* 1.4).

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[541] Cf. Green, *Keter*, 31–41.
[542] Richardson, "Athens'."
[543] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 127.
[544] See in late and Byzantine sources (*LSJ*:622; Sophocles, *Glossary*, 496).

Flower Offering: Unrighteous (12:6–13:5)

Greek	Slavonic
6 And I saw other angels bearing baskets	6 And I saw other angels carrying offerings.
which were empty, not full.	
And they came grieving, and did not dare to approach, because they had not the rewards complete.	And they were slack and did not dare to draw near, because they did not have a measure.
7 And Michael cried out saying, "Come also, you angels, bring what you have brought." 8 And Michael grieved much, as well as the angel who was with me, because they did not fill the bowl.	7 And Michael called out, saying, "Come also you, angels, as much as you have brought, so you will receive." 8 And Michael wept much [and] filled the receptacle.
1 And thus [these] other angels went weeping and bewailing and saying with fear, "Look at us Behold, how we became black, O Lord, for we were given to	1 And I saw {others} as they go and weep, and they were trembling with fear, saying, "Woe to us, darkened ones, that we have been given to
evil men,	evil places and men,
and we want to get away from them."	and we want to get away from them,
	if possible."
2 And Michael said, "You are not able to get away from them,	2 And Michael said, "You will not be able to get away from them,
in order that the Enemy may not prevail at the end;	
but tell me what you ask."	but tell me what you want."
3 And they said, "We pray you, Michael our commander-in-chief, remove us from them, for we cannot remain with evil and foolish men,	3 And they told him, "We pray you, Michael our chief, remove us from them, for we cannot remain with the disobedient [and] unreasonable men,
for there is nothing good in them, but all kinds of unrighteousness and arrogance."	
4 For we do not see them ever entering into assembly, either into spiritual fathers or into any good thing.	4 For their wives flee to the Temple, and from there they bring them out
But where there is murder, there also are they in the midst, and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, malices, drunkennesses, strifes, jealousy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like,	to jealousy and to fornication and to envy,

then they are workers of such things and of others worse. Therefore we pray to let us leave them.	and they strive to many other things, which you, O Glorious One, know."
5 And Michael said to the angels, "Wait until I learn from the Lord what is to happen."	5 And Michael answered and said, "Be patient until I ask God what he commands about you."

NOTES

12:6G. *Empty, not full*. See comm. to 12:1.

And they came grieving (καὶ ἤρχοντο λυπούμενοι). Or "and they began to lament."

They had not the rewards complete (οὐκ εἶχον τέλεια τὰ βραβεῖα). Gk βραβεῖον initially means "prize in game" (1 Cor 9:24; Phil 3:14), already there allegorizing the heavenly reward, a reward of virtue; cf., e.g., "the prize of patient endurance" in Clement of Rome, *1 Ep. Cor.* 5.6. Plato uses an analogous term, Gk ἆθλον, for the prize of the beatific afterlife for the virtuous: "the prize is fair and the hope great" (*Phaed.* 114c).

12:6S. *They … measure* [**правила**]. Ms T has instead "they were impure [**скверьна**], because they had their crowns [**вѣнець**]."

12:8S *And Michael wept much [and] filled the receptacle* (**и плака сѧ михаилъ мъного наплъни хранильницѫ**). The text differs from G, but is fully clear. Gaylord understands it as "And Michael cried greatly over the [un]filled receptacle," where "the negative has dropped out of S."[545] Such interpretation must imply the assumption of the following proto-text: **и плака сѧ михаилъ мъного на[дъ не]плън[оиѫ]{и} хранильниц[е]ѫ**, which seems unnecessary.

13:1. *And thus {other} angels went* (καὶ εἰθ' οὕτως ἦλθον ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι). Usually translated as "And then in the same way came other angels." See the introductory comm. below.

13:1S. *Evil places and men* (**непригазнина мѣста и члѣкы**). Gaylord transliterates **члѣкы** as **членѣкъ** (nom. sg. or gen. pl.).[546] According to this reading the text has to be emended and interpreted as "evil places {and} of men." However, the final letter **ь**, recognizable in the facsimile edition, must imply the form of dat. pl.: **чьловѣкомь**.

13:2G. *In order that the Enemy may not prevail at the end* (ὑνα μὴ εἰς τέλος κυριεύσῃ ὁ Ἐχθρός). Or " … for ever." The text is reminiscent of LXX Ps 73:10: ἕως πότε ὁ θεός ὀνειδιεῖ ὁ ἐχθρός παροξυνεῖ ὁ ὑπεναντίος τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τέλος – "How long O God, will the enemy reproach, provoke your name for ever."

13:3G. *Arrogance* (πλεονεξία). Or less probably "greed." Both not includes in the lists of vices (4:17; 8:5; 13:4).

13:4S. *Strive* (**тщѧти сѧ**). Also "hurry," "endeavor."

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[545] Gaylord, *Baruch*, 674.
[546] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 131.

COMMENTARY

Three or Two Classes of Angels?

The extant text speaks of three groups of angels representing three classes of human beings: (1) those whose baskets were "full of flowers," (2) those with "half-empty baskets," and (3) those who "brought nothing." As noticed by Martha Himmelfarb, there is no indication which class is bigger, and there is no mention of the dominance of evil, in contrast to the tradition in the Similitudes'.[547]

1 En. 22 (Ethiopic and Greek) reports three (22:9) or four (22:2) "hollow places," where different groups of the souls of the dead are stored. The three groups are (1) the "righteous", who have there "the bright spring of water" similarly to the soul-birds of *3 Bar.* 10 (22:9): (2) complete sinners upon whom "judgment has not been executed in their lifetime. Here their spirits are set apart for this great torment, until the great day of judgment" (22:10); and (3) the average group of those who "were not righteous but sinners, who were godless, and they were companions with lawless. And their spirits will not be punished in the day of judgment nor will they be raised from there" (22:13). Some discern a fourth group of "those who make their suit, who make disclosures about their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners" (22:12) and identify them as the generation of the Flood;[548] see the special location for the Tower generation in *3 Bar.* 2–3.

The threefold division of the human race was a popular Rabbinic model:

> There are three groups, one for eternal life, one for shame and everlasting contempt (those who are completely evil); and an intermediate group go down to Gehenna and scream and come up from there and are healed. (*t. Sanh.* 13.3)

A baraita from *b. Ber.* 61b also speaks of three main categories: righteous (צדיקים), wicked (רשעים), and average (בינונים; there is also a further division of two extreme classes into two groups each); cf. *b. Rosh HaSh.* 16b–17a; *Shab.* 33b; *Yoma* 75a; and *Abot R. Nat.* A 41. Gnostics also divided humanity to three classes, "spiritual," "psychic," and "material" (e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.5; *Exc. Theod.* 56.2; cf. Nag Hammadi *Tripartite Tractate* 118.14–119.34; *Teaching of Silvanus* 92.16).[549] This approach might have Hellenistic roots: in Virgil's Elysium there were also three kinds

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[547] Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 93.

[548] Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 303.

[549] See Williams, *Rethinking*, 189–212.

of souls: perfect ones, those destined to purification, and those destined to reincarnation (Virgil, *Aen.* 6).

Three classes of men are represented by three groups of angels. The existence of three orders of angels may be implied also in 4:7S, which mentions four major angels, of whom Michael "the commander-in-chief" stands at the head of all angels (see comm. to "Michael" in 11:2), while the remaining three angels may be the heads of three angelic orders corresponding to three groups of angels and men.

However, the dichotomy of "righteous" and "sinners" is much more widely attested and may be older. The majority of texts know only the two classes. This binary opposition is treated extensively in Wis 3:1–13 (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 3; 13; 14; 15). The threefold division is known in Rev 3:15–16: "you are neither cold nor hot, I wish you were either one or the other …" In *Apoc. Paul* 7–10 (the closest parallel to the celestial liturgy of *3 Baruch*), the twofold scheme with two classes of angels representing two groups of humanity witnessed by Latin and Syriac rescensions, has probably been developed to the threefold model of the extant Greek rescension. This could be the situation with *3 Baruch*, where the extant text contains the rudiments of the original twofold division:

(1) Besides the passage under discussion, *3 Baruch* reflects a clear dichotomy between "those who pass through life rightly" (τοῖς καλῶς τὸν βίον διερχομένοις) and receive the revelations, on the one hand (11:7G), and "those who pass through life wickedly" (τῶν κακῶς τὸν βίον μετερχομένων) and as a result become the nourishment of the Dragon-Hades, on the other (4:5G).

(2) The concluding passage of 16:6–10S knows only of "the righteous" and "the impious."

(3) In 12:6G the second group of angels bring κανίσκια κενὰ οὐ γέμοντα – "baskets [which were] empty, not full." Hughes, however, suggested an emendation κανίσκια [οὔτε] κενὰ οὔ[τε] γέμοντα – "baskets which were [neither] empty, nor full." Nevertheless, the tautological formula "empty, not full" may be understood literally and could have reflected some Hebraic or colloquial construction (like ריק אין בו מים – κενὸς ὕδωρ οὐκ εἶχε – "empty, without water" of Gen 37:24). This refers to the offering of the sinners; otherwise it (or its absence) is not mentioned elsewhere in the offering account of chs. 12–13. This would mean that there are only two types of offerings, full and empty, which leave no place for the mediocre (exactly as in Latin and Syriac *Apoc. Paul* 7–10). Thus the angels of 13:1ff would be the same angels as in 12:6ff.

This interpretation would require one minor emendation in each of the two accounts:

– *Offering* (chs. 12–13): the word "other" (13:1) must be either a later addition or continues to refer to the same "other angels" of 12:6ff;
– *Reward* (chs. 15–16): the verse in 15:3 was either added or the rather the word ἀποκένους there is to be understood as "empty." The next verse (15:4) inteprets the word to mean "half-empty" (since both meanings are possible), but the whole verse is an obvious Christian interpolation absent in S.

This was also the interpretation of the Slavonic family β which also only speaks of two groups of angels (although it is shorter than G in these chapters, e.g., the whole Oil Reward account is absent).

These minor emendations could be made in order to replace a twofold division of humankind by the threefold one, that is, the displacement of a radical moral dichotomy with a more balanced and tolerant ethical system.

* * *

13:1. *Angels weeping and bewailing and saying with fear / they go and weep, and they were trembling with fear.* According to some Rabbinic sources, they may have good reasons to fear, since angels are to be punished too:

> The Holy One will not revenge the kingdoms in the future before he will revenge their angelic patrons [lit. "princes," שרים] first, as said, "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord will punish the host of the high heaven on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth" [Isa 24:21] and "How you have fallen from heaven, O star of the morning, son of the dawn!" [Isa 14:12] and "My sword is satiated in heaven …" [Isa 34:5]. (*Mek*. Beshalah, Shira 2)

Weeping angels are known from different sources. In the *Hypostasis of the Archons* "the authorities will relinquish their ages, and their angels will weep over their destruction, and their demons will lament their death." Angels are "weeping over the three sons of Joatham" in a similar context (*Apoc. Zeph*. 3–4; cf. comm. to ch. 12); angels bewail Isaac (*Gen. Rab*. 56.6; *Pesiq. R*. 40; *Pirqe R. El*. 31; *Midr. HaG*. 1.322; etc.); God and angels bewail Moses (*b. Sot*. 13b–14a; *Tan. B*. 4.13; *Tan*. Vaethanan 6; *Abot R. Nat*. 156; etc.); angels bewail the destruction of the Temple (so, e.g., *Lam. Rab*. Intr.); and angels weep with Esther (cf. *Tg. Esth. II* 4).

Behold, how we became black / *Woe to us, darkened ones* (ἴδε ἡμᾶς μεμελανωμένους / **лютѣ намъ омрачєнъіимъ**). See the faces of the sinners in Gehenna that are literally "black like the sides of a pot" (*b. Rosh HaSh*. 17a). Here the figurative meaning is possible; cf. Rabbinic Heb השחיר פנים

"darken face" as a metaphor for "to ashame s.-o." (*b. Shab.* 152a; cf. *y. Hag.* 2.77d). In this case it is just an expression of distress or pain.

Otherwise, the darkness may be connected to demonic nature. "Black One" (μέλας) could function as a substitute for "Evil One" when used as a designation for Satan (*Ep. Barn.* 4.9; 20.1).[550] However, although these angels have punitive functions (16:2–4), there is hardly a demonic feature here (see introductory comm. to ch. 12), but rather a characteristic that reflects defilement. Thus Hades is both "dark" and "impure" (ζοφώδης καὶ βέβηλος in 4:3G; cf. introductory comm. to ch. 4). Here the causal relationship is given: the angels assigned to the wicked are "darkened" since they "are given to evil men" (13:1), according to the model of the sun defiled by human sins (8:4–5). Also, in other compositions sins can darken the lower heaven (*T. Levi* 3:1), as well as heavenly waters (*2 Bar.* 58:1; 60:1).

13:4G. See comm. to 11:4.

Behind the Door (14)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And at that time	
Michael left,	1 And Michael went up
and the doors closed. And there was a sound	and the gates closed, and there was a thunder,
like thunder.	like [bellowing] of 40 oxen.
2 And I asked the angel, "What is the sound?" And he told me, "Now Michael is bringing	2 And I said to the angel, "What is the sound?" And he told me, "Now Michael is bringing
the virtues of men	the prayers of men."
to God."	

NOTES

14:1G. *Left* (ἀπῆλθεν). Or "went up" as understood by S. See comm. to 11:4.

14:1S. *Like [bellowing] of 40 oxen*. See note to 6:13S.

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[550] *LPG*, 540. On darkness as demonic and netherworld feature see introductory comm. to ch. 4 (*Celestial Bestiary* 4.2).

COMMENTARY

Annual Judgment and Implied Chronology

1. Celestial Day of Atonement

Can Baruch witness to the celestial counterpart of Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) service? The ritual procedure, its content (celestial judgment), its special relevance after the destruction of the Temple, and, as I will try to show, even the original imagery (preserved in a modified form in later Rabbinic tradition) have much in common with the terrestial Day of Atonement.

1.1. *Procedure*. The description here perfectly conforms to the performance of the high priest on the Day of Atonement.[551] Unseen to the audience, Michael alone enters a hidden realm behind the door in order to intercede for the supplicants before God. Other angels are left outside, just as other priests are not allowed to enter the Holy of Holies: "when he [the high priest] goes in to make atonement in the holy place, no one shall be in the Tent of meeting until he comes out" (Lev 16:17). Also in heaven "none of the angels could enter and could behold his face because of the magnificence and glory" (*1 En.* 14:21). Angels were prevented from entering even the earthly Holy of Holies, when the high priest is there (*y. Yoma* 1.5.39a; 5.2.42c; *y. Suk*. 4.6.54d; *Pesiq. R.* 47). On angels as priests and the celestial Temple and its forbidden areas, see introductory comm. to 12:1–5 and 11, respectively.

1.2. *Celestial judgment*. Michael's service in *3 Baruch* results in the dispensing of a reward to the righteous and in a verdict for the sinners (chs. 15–16), while in Rabbinic tradition the Day of Atonement is a day of "sealing" an annual judgment: "all are judged on New Year and the decree is sealed on the Day of Atonement" (*t. Rosh HaSh*. 1.13). In this case, the "Day of Judgment" of *3 Bar.* 1:7 may refer to the scene described here (see comm. ibid.).

1.3. *Relevance*. The loss of this rite created one of the most painful liturgical gaps after the destruction of the Temple. Evidence of its continuation in heaven and the ongoing opening of the "gate of prayer" could have been very relevant, especially in light of skeptical views like the one of R. Eleazar,

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[551] As noticed by Dean-Otting ("Baruch," 152) and Wright (*Heaven*, 173).

who believed that "from the day on which the Temple was destroyed the gates of prayer have been closed" (*b. Ber.* 32b). Tannaim decreed that the holiday was to be preserved inspite of the Temple's destruction: "though no sacrifices be offered, the day in itself effects atonement" (*Sifra* Emor 14; cf. *m. Yom.* 8.8). Later aggada even says that the world cannot exist without the Day of Atonement and that the day will be observed even when all other holidays will be canceled (*Pirqe R. El.* 46). It is also stated that the celestial Temple has been erected in order to serve for the atonement of Israel after the destruction of the Temple (*Bet HaMidr.* 5.63).

1.4. *Timing*. Later mystical tradition links revelatory experience with the Day of Atonement. It also provides a rationale for the forty days fast (as in Noah's revelation in *3 Bar.* 4:14; for numerous parallels see comm. ibid.) before the revelation as a period from the first of Elul to the Day of Atonement (*Hekh. Zut.* 424; ms Oxford 1531).

1.5. *Imagery*

– *Gate of Prayer.* In *3 Bar.* 12–13 angels bring men's virtues or/and prayers before the gate opening for this purpose (11:5; cf. 14:1; 15:1; 17:1G), while a special "gate of prayer" opens on the Day of Atonement (*y. Ber.* 4.7c; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 24.2; cf. *b. Yoma* 87b; for more details see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology: Non-complete ascent*). Note also Philo's discussion of prayer as means of expiation on the Day of Atonement: "at this time men feast, propitiating the Father of the universe with holy prayers, by which they are accustomed to solicit pardon for their former sins" (*Mos.* 2.4[24]).
– *Yom Kippur as the "Day of Mercy."* If we deal with the celestial Yom Kippur, how do we explain the oil imagery which is so central to the liturgical procedure described in *3 Baruch*? The reward for the pious in *3 Bar.* 15 is given as "oil" (according to G or "mercy" in S). The word play with homeophonic Gk ἔλεος "mercy" and ἔλαιον "oil," as well as the term "oil of mercy," are well attested (including *3 Baruch* itself; cf. LXX Ps 52(51):10; *Vita* 36:2; 40:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 9:4; 13:1; *Gos. Nicod.* 19; on this in more detail, see introductory comm. to ch. 15: *Oil Reward: Oil and Mercy* below). The term "mercy" could be closely associated with Yom Kippur. In *Bib. Ant.* 13:6 the Day of Atonement is called "the Fast of Mercy" (*ieiunium misericordiae*). The same avails in 4Q508 (4QPrFêtes) 2.2: "the Appointed time of your Mercy" (מועד רחמיך) and in *b. Ber.* 29a: "the Day of Mercy" (יומא דרחמי). In *Jubilees* the expression is also cardinal for the day of annual judgment: "he will have *mercy* on all who

turn from all their errors once each year" (*Jub.* 5:18; cf; also *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* 23). Less clear is the subtext of *Pss. Sol.* 18:6[5]: "May God cleanse Israel against the *Day of Mercy* and blessing, against the Day of Choice when he brings back his *anointed*" (καθαρίσαι ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ εἰς ἡμέραν ἐλέους ἐν εὐλογίᾳ εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκλογῆς ἐν ἀνάξει χριστοῦ αὐτου). If the term "Day of Mercy" refers here to the Day of Atonement, it provides an additional connection between the celestial judgment and the idea of the choice of the righteous by anointing.[552]

– *Anointing of Yom Kippur?* The word play on "oil" and "mercy" is not the only reason to connect celestial oil (ἔλαιον) with the Day of Atonement – the Day of Mercy (ἡμέρα ἐλέους). Supposedly there is no connection between anointing and this day. Celestial oil of the Olive of Life planted by Michael is known to be beneficial for this life (as well as for afterlife or resurrection according to some early Jewish texts). Symbolic anointing that has such implications is also well attested among early Christian and Gnostic practices (on this see introductory comm. to ch. 15:1–2: *Oil Reward*), but no oil was ever associated with the Day of Atonement. Anointing, however, can "atone" in certain cases (as in Lev 14:18: "The rest of the oil in his hand the priest shall put on the head of the man being purified. Thus shall the priest make atonement for him before the Lord"), though the anointing itself was never part of the terrestial Day of Atonement liturgy and regular anointing was even prohibited on that day (*y. Yom.* 8.1.76b).[553]
– *Chrismatic "Seal" of Yom Kippur?* Thus, the connection must be searched not in pre-Temple destruction liturgical practices of Yom Kippur, but in the imagery of its celestial counterpart, namely in the motifs of "writing" and especially "sealing" as preserved in Rabbinic tradition (with probably earlier roots; see *1 En* 81:67–77; 90:20–21, where the destiny of the "sheep," i.e., Israel, is written in the book, read to the Lord, and sealed by him). In *3 Baruch* the role of the "seal" in celestial Yom Kippur is taken by the anointing. Where the righteous of *3 Baruch* receive ointment, the righteous of Rabbinic sources are "written" and "sealed." The "sealing" of the judgment is a central image in Rabbinic presentation of the Day of Atonement. It follows the "inscribing" in the heavenly books on the New Year of Tishri (*t. Rosh HaSh.* 1.13; *b. Rosh*

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552 Cf. also the note to introductory comm. to 15:1–2 on "anointed of Aaron and Israel" of the *Community Rule* (1QS 9.11) and parallels.

553 Cf. also the "Festival of Oil" (היצהר/מועד השמן) taking place about a week before the New Year (22th or 20th day of the sixth month); 11QTemple[a]; 4Q365 23; 4Q327; cf. *Jub.* 32:11–13.

HaSh. 16a).[554] Is there a connection between this sealing and anointing? While in Rabbinic tradition the connection is untraceable, it is very obvious for the Hellenistic context: anointing, a chrismatic mark, is referred as a "seal" in many early sources (2 Cor 1:21–22; *Ap. John* 31.22–25; *Apost. Const.* 7.22; Origen, *Cels.* 6.27; etc.; on this in more detail, see comm. to ch. 15 and 16:3). Moreover, also in *3 Baruch* the anointing-"sealing" of the righteous comes together with the "writing" of their names, although not in the book, but on the entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven (probably in order to enable their access there; see 11:2S and comm. ibid.).

Apparently, the Jewish Hellenistic motif of chrismatic marking or "sealing" of the chosen in the celestial judgment (combined in *3 Baruch* with the motif of "writing" and connected to the celestial Yom Kippur service), associated with mysterial and liturgical practices, coexisted with a tradition which used the same term which, however, was understood in relation to a juridical setting (cf. different modes of celestial service-judgement in the introductory comm. to 12:1–5). The apocalyptic image of the chrismatic "seal" of mercy given in the "Day of Mercy," imagined as a liturgic procedure, is in Rabbinic juridical imagery presented as a "sealing" of the court's decision. In addition to the well known and expected general tendency, here the domination of the latter understanding in later Rabbinic tradition was inevitable, since the former meaning and connotations of the terms were only transparent within the Hellenistic milieu which associated "oil" and "mercy," on the one hand, and used the word "seal" for "anointing," on the other.

Implied Chronology

If at the end of his tour Baruch does arrive at the celestial service of the Day of Atonement, then we can try to trace the chronology of the vision. There are two ways in which the calculation can be attempted: according to the solar-lunar and according to the solar calendars. The total number of days of Baruch's celestial tour in the extant text is 275: so the addition of 30 (2:2), 60 (3:2), and 185 (4:2). According to Frasson's reconstruction (see comm. to 10:1G) it may be a full solar year, 365 days: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); **90* (10:1); and 185 (4:2). Acquaintance with the length of the solar year could be combined with the use of a luni-solar calendar (cf. *t. Nazir* 1.3; *Sifra* Behar 4; *b. Ar.* 9b; *Lev. Rab.* 51; etc.). According to an ordinary lunar

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[554] Cf. subsequent "writing" and "sealing" in real juridical practices, e.g., in Jer 32:10; *m. Yeb.* 2.9.

year of 354 days, the journey of 365 days had to start on the eve of the New Year. According to a solar year, the vision culminating with the celestial Day of Atonement would be given on the Day of Atonement as well.[555] Are there any justifications for these dates? In *Jubilees*, "on the first of the seventh month," i.e., on the New Year of Tishri, Abraham both observes heaven and receives a revelation (12:16–30), while Jacob also receives his vision in Bethel (31:3). This is also the period during which "the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah" (Jer 42:7). Baruch's visit to the destroyed Temple and the subsequent vision there could be matched in time with the New Year or the Day of Atonement. This kind of pilgrimage to the destroyed Temple "in the seventh month" is attested in Jer 41:5, when "eighty men came from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria with their beards shaved off and their clothes torn and their bodies gashed, having grain offerings and incense in their hands to bring to the house of the Lord."[556]

Oil Recompense for Righteous (15:1–2)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And at that time Michael came down, and the gate opened, and he brought	1 And at that time Michael came down, and the gate opened, and he brought
	to the first angels
oil.	[…] full of mercy.
2 And for the angels who had brought the full baskets,	2 And he said, "Come, angels,
he filled them with oil,	and receive mercies.
saying, "Bring a hundredfold reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds. For those who have sowed well, reap well."	As you brought prayers to God, so receive. As the prayers of men and their requests ask, so are them."

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555 The journey of 275 days had to start in the middle of Shevat (on or close to the New Year of Trees). On the trees motif in *3 Baruch* see comm. to 4:7S.

556 This happens approximately two months after the fall of Jerusalem which happened during "the fifth month" (between its fifth and tenth days; 2 Kgs 25:8, 9; Jer 52:12). Two months are attested as a mourning period in Judg 11:37–39. In *4 Baruch* after mourning Jerusalem (4:7–11), Baruch went outside the city and "remained sitting in a tomb" for an indefinite period until "the angels came to him and explained to him all the things that the Lord would reveal to him through them" (*4 Bar.* 4:12).

NOTES

15:1S. *And the gate opened*. Only in ms T (in accordance with G).

15:1S. *And he brought to the first angels […] full of mercy [or: "full mercies"]* (**и принесе пръвъимъ ангеломъ пълны милости**). Either "mercies" are "full," or the clause is elliptic, and what was "full of mercies" is not mentioned. Cf. comm. ad loc.

15:2G. *The full baskets* (τὰ κανίσκια πλήρης). Ryssel emends to πλήρη. It is also possible that πλήρης was used indeclinably.[557]

For those who have sowed well, reap well. Probably an allusion to Matt 19:29 and 25:24, 26 (cf. Mark 10:30; Luke 15:8; 2 Cor 9:6; although a similar expression appears also in Hagg 1:6). Cf. a paraphrase of Matt 25:21, 23 in 15:4G.

15:2S. *As you brought prayers to God, so receive. As the prayers of men and their requests ask, so are them* (**іакоже принесосте мл҃итвы къ бо҃ тако и прим҃те іакоже просѧтъ мл҃итвы чловѣци и прошениа ихъ іако и ти**). Or "as you brought prayers to God, so receive according to what the prayers of men and their requests ask, according to them." Ms T has: "As you brought prayers to God, so receive. As someone prays, so give them."

COMMENTARY

Oil Reward

The supposedly disconnected images of the vision of the Oil Reward may be understood only against the background of other documents, especially *2 Enoch* and *Life of Adam and Eve*:[558]

1. *Oil and Mercy*. "Oil" of G (15:1 and 2) does not appear in S at all. It has **пълны милости** "full of mercy" or "full mercies" (15:1) and **милости** "mercies" (15:2) instead. The Greek *Vorlage* of S might have contained "full of oil" instead of "full of mercy," if the Slavic translator confused Gk ἔλαιον and ἔλεος.[559] More probably, it is an intentional world play: the same word play of homeophonic ἔλαιον and ἔλεος is explicit in ms T to 4:7S which also refers to Michael: "Michael brought the *olive* and planted it. That is why Michael was called *merciful*" (see note ad loc.). The two words "oil" and "mercy" are used together in LXX Ps 52(51):10 and in the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*Vita* 36:2; 40:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 9:4; 13:1). Seth looks

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[557] Hughes, "Baruch," 540.

[558] Cf. the analyses of Gaylord and Orlov (Gaylord, "Baruch," 658; Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 230–231).

[559] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 139.

there for "the *oil* of life flowing from the Tree of *Mercy.*" The very combination "oil of mercy" occurs in *Apoc. Mos.* 13:1: "And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and they wept there praying to God to send his angel and give them the *oil of mercy*" (τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου; cf. *oleum misericordiae* of *Vita* 40:1). See also *Gos. Nicod.* 19: "then shall he anoint with the *oil of mercy* all that believe in him."

"Full of mercy" of S is known as a Rabbinic epithet for God, Heb מלא רחמים (*Mek.* Beshalah, Shira 4; Bahodesh, Yitro 4; *b. Sanh.* 39a; *Tan. B.* Naso 6; etc.).

2. *Oil and Glory.* Enoch is anointed with the "delightful oil" (*2 En.* 22:8) and the "oil of his [God's] Glory" (*2 En.* 56:2). Gaylord supposes that the oil *is* a Glory promised to Baruch above (4:2S; 6:12; 7:2; 11:2) and lost by Adam (4:16G).[560]

3. *Oil and Michael.* In all three documents (*Life of Adam and Eve*, *2 Enoch*, and *3 Baruch*) Michael is in charge of the celestial oil. However, only S explains the nature of this link: Michael is the one who planted the source of this oil, the Cosmic Olive (4:7S).

4. *Oil and Cosmic Olive.* In *3 Baruch* the two are only implicitly connected through the image of Michael planting the Olive (only in S). The olive was planted by Michael (4:7S), and the oil (apparently from the same olive) is distributed by him. The "Tree of his Mercy, from which flows the oil of life" (*arborem misericordiae suae de qua currit oleum vitae*; *Vita* 36:2; cf. *Apoc. Mos.* 9:4) is only explicitly identified as the Tree of Life in *Apoc. Mos.* 28:4: "when again the Resurrection has come to pass, I will raise you up and then there will be given to you from the Tree of Life and you will be without death forever." The olive tree of Paradise, "an olive, flowing with oil continually," appears in *2 En.* (A) 8:5. See also Origen, *Cels.* 6.27 and 34; Ps.-Clementine *Rec.* 1.45; *Acts Thom.* 157; *Gos. Nicod.* 19 (= Descent of Christ 3); Mark 6:13; Jas 5:14. Jacob receives celestial oil to anoint the site of Luz (*Gen. Rab.* 69.8; *Pirqe R. El.* 35).[561]

The motif of the reward of the righteous by the product of the Tree of Life may be connected *inter alia* to an exegesis of Prov 11:30: "The fruit of the righteous is the Tree of Life," which may mean that in their death they "eat

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[560] See Gaylord, "Baruch," 658.

[561] Cf. Quinn, *Quest.*

of the Tree of Life and live forever" (Gen 3:22).[562] See the expression "share in the Tree of Life" of Rev 22:19. Cf. *Eschatological resurrection* below.

5. *Nature of Oil Reward.* Michael declares oil as a "reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds" (15:2). In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Michael tells Adam that "the oil of life" will be dispensed only to the "holy people" (*Apoc. Mos.* 13:3; cf. *Vita* 42:2; *Gos. Nicod.* 19). Whereas plagues for the wicked are listed below, the nature of the reward for the just is not given in detail. It is just "oil" in G or "mercies" in S. Many parallels below agree on the identification of the reward as "life," and that the Tree of Life must be identical to the Tree of Oil, the Cosmic Olive (later Christian sources elaborate upon the symbolism of this identification, including in it the tree of the cross). What "life" is intended and when is it given? Do guardian angels access Michael during a human being's lifetime or after his death, and, in the latter case, is there an immediate reward of afterlife or is there a postponed eschatological resurrection?[563]

5.1. *Lifetime reward.* In biblical language oil symbolically represents joy (Ps 45:8; Prov 27:9). The celestial oil can help even during a human lifetime. It was supposed to heal Adam when he was dying (*Vita* 35; *Apoc. Mos.* 9). Anointing by earthly oil heals in Mark 6:13 and Jas 5:15–16. This is likely a reflection of the belief in the healing powers of oil (as well as of wine): "the fruit of the olive relieves the fatigue of the body, and that of the vine, when drunk in moderation, relaxes the excessive pains of the soul" (Philo, *Aet.* 12.63); "as the olive causes one to forget seventy years of study, so does olive oil restore seventy years of study … Wine and spices have made me wise" (*b. Hor.* 13a–b).[564] Sinful generations will be deprived of wine and oil: "There will be no produce from the vine and no oil because what they do is complete disobedience" (*Jub.* 23:18).[565] Anointing could be applied

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[562] The translators of the Targum and LXX did not understand it literally, emending the first part of this passage to "like a Tree of Life," similarly to another idea: "as the days of a tree shall be the days of my people" (Isa 65:22).

[563] The Essene avoidance of oil (known from Josephus, *Bell.* 2.8.3) should be also mentioned here despite its unclear character connected either to ascetic or purity concerns (see Baumgarten, "Essene").

[564] Cf. "healing dew" of *2 Bar.* 29:7; 73:2–3 (on oil and dew see comm. to "the dew of heaven" in 10:9).

[565] Notice that the two main Trees of Paradise according to *3 Baruch* are the Olive and the Vine. Cf. also the enigmatic order given to the third cavalier not to damage "oil and wine" (Rev 6:6).

not only to priests and kings, but also to the prophets (1 Kg 19:6; Isa 61:1; "his holy spirit-anointed ones and seers of truth" in CD 2.12–13; cf. 6.1 = 6Q15 3.4; 4Q267 2.6; 1QM 11.7–8; etc.), while according to *3 Bar.* 11:7G, the righteous do only only receive anointing but also revelations. Ointment can protect from death. Thus in the *Apocryphon of John* the living Gnostic is "sealed" (i.e., anointed) "in the light of the water with five seals that death might not have power over him from now on" (*Ap. John* 31.22–25; on protective seals see comm. to 16:3).[566] "Seals" of anointing are given to the righteous and to the chosen through baptism and other rites (e.g., *Acts Thom.* 26; *Apost. Const.* 7.22; cf. comm. to 16:3). They can symbolize God's "ownership" (2 Cor 2:21–22; similarly to the "seals" of circumcision or baptism) and exhort demons (Mark 6:13). A chrismatic seal may have a protective function like other protective seals of Jewish tradition, in order, for example, to defend the pious from the Locusts Plague described in ch. 16 (as a "seal" on their foreheads protects the righteous from the demonic locusts in Rev 9:4 or the chosen 144,000 "servants of our God" in the day of wrath in Rev 7:2–4; on this see comm. to 16:3).[567]

5.2. *Afterlife reward*. There is wider attestation of the use of oil at the moment of transfer from this world: it transforms Enoch into an eternal angelic being (*2 En.* 22:9). Both Adam's and Abraham's bodies are anointed by angels with "sweet olive oil" (*Apoc. Mos.* 40:2) or "with divine ointments" (*T. Abr.* 20:10). Aseneth, whose "name is written in the book of life," is promised to "eat the bread of life and drink the cup of immortality, and be anointed with the unction of incorruption" (*Jos. Asen.* 15:2–4; the same is applied to Joseph as "a man who worships God" in 8:5). There was also a Gnostic practice of "sealing" a dying person who declares, "I have been anointed with white ointment from the Tree of Life" (Origen, *Cels.*

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[566] The Gnostic "five seals" appear also in the *Trimorphic Protennoia* and *Gospel of the Egyptians*. For the identification of Gnostic "seal" with chrism, see Logan, "Mystery."

[567] Of special interest is the Bala'izah Gnostic fragment (see Kahle, *Bala'izah,* 1.437–477; Crum, "Coptic"), which connects the five seals of the Gnostic tradition and the five trees of Paradise (known also to *3 Bar.* 4:7S; Philo and other Gnostic sourses; see comm. to 4:7S: " … all they that (were) in the heavenly Paradise were sealed in silence. But such as shall partake thereof will become spiritual, having known all; they shall seal the five Powers in silence. Lo, I have explained to you, O John, concerning Adam and Paradise and the Five Trees, in an intelligible allegory …" Thus the Oil Reward as a "seal" of the righteous by the product of the Tree of Life might have been just one of the five possible "seals."

6.27), cf. "in all their writings [mention is made] of the Tree of Life, and a resurrection of the flesh by means of the 'Tree'" (ibid. 6.34). It is possible that a criticism of such chrismatic practices applied to the dead may be implied by Rabbis: "Good oil drops on the dead and becomes stinking … We found that people with good oil [בעלי שמן טוב] entered the place of life and went out dead, while people with good name [בעלי שם טוב] entered the place of dead and went out alive" (*Eccl. Rab.* 7.1; cf. *Exod. Rab.* 48.1; *Tan.* Vaiqhel 1). See also the Christian unction (εὐχέλαιον) with its multifunctional purposes (based on Mark 6:12 and Jas 5:14). Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* develop the same motif:

> Him [Christ] first God anointed with oil which was taken from the wood of the Tree of Life: from that anointing therefore he is called Christ. Thence, moreover, he himself also, according to the appointment of his Father, anoints with similar oil every one of the pious when they come to his kingdom (1.45)

Cf. *Gos. Nicod.* 19 cited below.[568]

While in *3 Baruch* the angels exchange flowers for ointment, in a similar account of angelic intercession in the *Apocalypse of Paul* "the angels of the righteous sent after the souls of the righteous" to convey them to the other world probably have both attributes: "they held in their hands the crowns [or "wreaths" – ܟܠܝܠܐ; of flowers?] and the seal [anointing?] of God on them" (Syriac version of *Apoc. Paul* 12).

If the reward of oil is intended to signify immediate afterlife, the wicked are deprived of it ("those who brought nothing" in *3 Bar.* 16). Instead they are given only the lifetime punishments (ibid.). This would conform the popular idea that "the pious will live in death and the wicked will be dead in life" (as in *b. Ber.* 18b):

> That death is of two kinds, one that of the man in general, the other that of the soul in particular. The death of the man is the separation of the soul from the body, but the death of the soul is the decay of virtue and the bringing in of wickedness. It is for this reason that God says not only "die" but "die by the death." (*Leg. All.* 1.33.105–107)

> The death of worthy men is the beginning of another life. For life is twofold: one is with corruptible body; the other is without body [and] incorruptible. So that the evil man dies by death even when he breathes, before he is buried, as though he preserved for himself no spark at all of the true life, which is excellence of character. The decent and worthy man, however, does not die by death, but after living long, passes away to eternity; that is, he is borne to eternal life. (*Quaest. Gen* 1.16 [on Gen 2:17])

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[568] Cf. Lampe, *Seal*, 120ff.

See also Philo, *Fug*. 21; *Jos*. 43; Matt 8:22; 10:28; and 1 Tim 5:6–7. The souls of the wicked are annihilated also according to some Rabbinic sources:

> Sinners of Israel and sinners of the Gentiles in body descent to Gehenna and are punished there for twelve months. After twelve months their body is consumed and their soul is burnt and the wind scatters them under the soles of the feet of the righteous. (*t. Sanh*. 13.4; cf. *b. Rosh HaSh*. 16b–17a)
>
> "[The soul] shall utterly be cut off [הכרת תכרת]" [Numb. 15: 31] – "cut off" in this world, "utterly cut off" in the world to come. This is the view of R. Akiba. (*b. Sanh*. 64b)

See futher *b. Ber.* 18b–19b and *b. Shab*. 33b.

In this case, Serpent-Hades of chs. 4–5 would hardly be an abode of the wicked. It is rather their ultimate annihilator: he "eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly" (4:5G) in order to deprive them from bodily resurrection at the end of days.

5.3. *Eschatological resurrection*. Many of the anointing rites mentioned above could be directed toward eschatological resurrection rather than immediate afterlife. In *Life of Adam and Eve* the oil will be given only "in the end of the times, then shall all flesh be raised up" (ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν καιρῶν τότε ἀναστήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ; *Apoc. Mos.* 13:2–3); "when again the Resurrection has come to pass" (ἀναστάσεως πάλιν γενομένης; *Apoc. Mos.* 28:4) or in the "last days" (*novissimis diebus*; *Vita* 42:1). After the bodily resurrection, Jesus will "anoint with the oil of mercy all that believe in him" giving them thus "eternal life" (*Gos. Nicod.* 19).[569] If this is the case in *3 Baruch*, the reward is postponed to the Day of Judgment (mentioned in 1:7), an idea shared by a wide range of early Jewish texts (e.g., *1 En.* 22:11; *Mek*. Beshalah, Vaihi 4; cf. *Midr. Pss.* 31.3; etc.).

15:2G. *Bring a hundredfold reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds* (ἀπενέγκατε δότε ἑκατονταπλασίονα τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς φίλοις ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόνως ἐργασαμένοις τὰ καλὰ ἔργα). The verse, absent in S and possibly an allusion to New Testament tradition

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[569] In this context the much disputed plural "anointed of Aaron and Israel" of the *Community Rule* (1QS 9.11) and par. can be understood not as two Messiahs, but as righteous Jews, both priests and laymen (for the literature on the passage see Flint, VanderKam, *Dead Sea*, 2.366–68). Cf. also "the anointed one" of *1 En.* 48:10; 52:4 called occasionally "the righteous one" (38:2; 53:6). See also on "anointed" as prophets above.

(Matt 19:29; Mark 10:30; Luke 15:8; 2 Cor 9:6), might well be one of the Christian interpolations or reworkings in *3 Baruch*.

"Our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds" is the second reference to the righteous in *3 Baruch*: in 10:5G we already learned that the pious souls dwell on the celestial lake continually praising God. If the Oil Reward is posthumous (see comm. above), they must be the "beloved" who await the final "hundredfold reward" of eternal life and transmission to the permanent residence, "the resting places of the righteous" (16:6S).

It is unclear whether these two designations, "our friends/beloved" and "those who have diligently done good deeds" refer to two separate groups or whether they merely indicate two characteristics of the same group. "Friends" may refer to the righteous (cf. Baruch called "beloved man" ἄνηρ ἐπιθυμιῶν in 1:3 above). For the righteous as God's "friends/beloved" (אהבים) see Prov 8:17; Ps 97:10; Exod 20:6; Deut 5:10. The Mishna expands the idea:

> Whoever occupies himself with Torah for its own sake, acquires by merit many things, nay more, the whole of the world is worthwhile for his sake. He is called a friend [רע], a beloved [אהוב], one that loves the All-Present, one that loves [his fellow-]creatures … (*m. Abot* 6.1)

Abraham is frequently called "friend/lover/beloved [Heb אוהב; Gk φίλος] of God" (Isa 41:8, 2 Chr 20:7; LXX Isa 41:8; 51:2; Dan 3:35; *Jub*. 19:9; 30:20; Philo, *Cher.* 2; *Abr.* 10.19; *Sobr.* 56; *4 Ezra* 3:14; *Apoc. Abr.* 10:5; CD 3.2; Jas 2:23; *1 Clem*. 10:1; 17:2). Gk φίλοι "friends/beloved" was a regular way of Jesus to address his disciples (Luke 12:4; John 15:15; and *passim*).

The term φίλοι might have also mean compatriots, referring to Jews, as Heb רעים and אחים in this sense: "You called us a beloved people" (*2 Bar.* 21:21); "Beloved are Israel in that they were called children of the All-Present (*m. Abot* 3.14); "Israel are beloved for they are called friends [חביבים ישראל שנקראו רעים], as said, 'For the sake of my brothers and friends [I will ask for peace for you]' [Ps 122:8]" (*Exod. Rab*. 27.9; cf. "friends" and "brothers" interchanging in the different versions of Matt 5:47); "They [Israel] are the friends of God [שהן רעיו של הקב"ה], as said … [Ps 122:8] (*Exod. Rab*. 52.1); et al.

If this is the case, the other definition, "those who have diligently done good deeds," may refer to virtuous heathens. This would contrast with Rabbinic sources which state that "all Israel have a portion in the world to come" (*m. Sanh*. 10.1; *b. Sanh*. 90a), on the one hand, and that Gehenna is destined only for the wicked of the heathens, on the other (*b. Shab*. 104a).

Compare also the *Life of Adam and Eve*, where "the oil of life" is dispensed exclusively to the "holy people" (*Apoc. Mos.* 13:3; cf. *Vita* 42:2; *Gos. Nicod.* 19).

See below, where the sinners are defined as "the sons of men" (16:1G), though the Deutoronomic paraphrases of 16:2 and 4G may be applied instead to sinful Israel.

Locusts Recompense for Unrighteous (15:3–16:10)

Greek	Slavonic
3 And he said also to those who brought the empty baskets, "Come you also;	3 And Michael called out again, "Come, you angels who brought little offerings each.
take the reward due for what you brought, and deliver it to the sons of men."	As you have brought, so you will receive, as men brought you prayers.
4 *Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those [who brought] the half-empty [baskets]: "Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus says the Lord, "You are faithful over a little, he will set you over many things; enter into the joy of our Lord."*	Tell [them], '{And} be not idle, but prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple.'"
1 And turning he said also to	1 Michael again called
those who had brought nothing,	those angels who were weeping,
	"Come also you, angels, and receive [the answers to] the requests, which the Lord said about those men,
"Thus says the Lord, 'Be not gloomy, and do not weep,	
and do not let the sons of men alone.	and you are not ordered to leave them.
2 But since they angered me by their deeds, go and make them envious and angry and provoke against them No-Nation, a nation void of understanding.	
3 Further, besides these, send forth	3 But bring them
	diseases and wounds and rupture
the caterpillar	and caterpillars
and the [kind of] locust,	

and the rust,

and [another kind of] locust,

[and] hail with lightnings and wrath,

and cut them in twain with the sword and with death,

and their children with demons.

4 Because they did not listen to my voice, nor observe my commandments, nor do them,

but came to be despisers of my commandments and my assemblies, and offenders of the priests who announced my words to them.

and grasshoppers

and clouds of thunders and hail,

and crash their children with demons.

4 Because they do not fear God and they do not come to the Temple and to the place of prayers.

Bring them a curse and rejection of good and murder."

5 And the angels received what was ordered to them by Michael. Trembling and rejoicing they went.

6 And the angel told me, "By the command of the Ruler I say to you, Baruch: Stand on the right side and see the Glory of God, and see the resting places of the righteous, glory and joy and happiness [and] glorification, and see the tortures of the impious, wailing and groaning, lament and the indefatigable worm. Their voice reaches heaven and calls, 'Have mercy on us, O God,'"

7 And I Baruch told the angel, "Lord, who are these?" 8 And he told me, "These are the sinners, having despised the commandment of God." 9 And I told the angel, "Order me, Lord, to weep on their behalf." 10 And he told me, "Weep, Baruch, [beginning] from the first-created man, Adam."

NOTES

15:3G. *And he said also to those who brought the empty baskets* (λέγει καὶ τοὺς ἀποκένους φέροντας τοὺς κανίσκους). Gk λέγω cum acc., see comm. to 10:7G.

Empty (ἀποκένους). The word may mean also "not quite full, half-empty." Thus, there is no need to emend it to ὑποκένους as Hughes suggests (also for the next verse).[570] The word can equally fit into the original account of two groups of angels and to the emended account of three (see comm. above). In the next, interpolated, verse only the second meaning would be appropriate.

15:3S. *Who brought little offerings each* (**иже дары принесосте по малоу**). Ms T omits **по малоу**: "who brought offerings." Thus, according to its reading there are only two groups of angels here, although while in G the verse refers to the second group, in ms T it refers to the first one. It also omits the words "as men brought … Temple" (absent also in G), which can hardly refer to the first group.

Tell [them], '{And} be not idle …' (**повѣдаите же и не лѣните сѧ** …). Probably from **повѣдаите же и[мъ] не лѣните сѧ** … "Tell them, 'Be not idle …'."

15:4G. *Over a little* (ἐπὶ ὀλίγῃ), in place of ἐπὶ ὀλίγα (Matt 25:21).

He will set you over many things (ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὑμᾶς καταστήσει). Ryssel suggests to read "I will set" (καταστήσω).[571]

16:1S. *Come … men*. Family β omits (in accordance with G).

16:3S. *Diseases and wounds and rupture*. Ms T: "sores and wounds and anxieties." Family β: "wounds and illnesses and sudden death."

16:3S. *Clouds of thunders*. Or: "a thunder of a cloud."

16:3S. *Hail*. Ms T adds: "and the destruction to their cities and demon [corrupt]." Family β mentions "destruction to their cities" after "demons."

16:4S. *Because they do not fear God and they do not come to the Temple and to the place of prayers. Bring them a curse …* (**зане не боѩтъ сѧ бг҃а и не приходѧтъ бъ црькъвъ и на молитвъ мѣсто клѧтвѫ имъ принесѣте** …). Gaylord divides the sentences differently: "because they do not fear God and they do not come to church; and instead of prayers, bring them a curse,"[572] which seems less appropriate for the context: the sinners did not offer prayers and moreover are not supposed to receive them. An angelic prayer for them might have been meant, although this practice is not mentioned in *3 Baruch*. See comm. to 13:4G.

Rejection of good (**неначинаниꙗ добра**). CS **начинаниѥ** may mean 'deed, enterprise,' while unattested elsewhere **неначинаниѥ** could have meant "lack of deed." However, it may be a corruption of CS **неначаꙗниѥ** rendering Gk ἀπόγνωσις "despair" or "rejection."

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570 Hughes, "Baruch," 541.
571 Ryssel, "Baruch," 456.
572 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 145.

16:5S. *Trembling and rejoicing*. Alludes to Ps 2:11: "Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling." Cf. *b. Ber.* 30b (based on this verse): "R. Adda b. Mattena said in the name of Rab, 'In the place where there is rejoicing there should also be trembling.'"

16:6S. *Glory of God*. See comm. to 4:2S.

Indefatigable worm. It normally comes in a pair with fire; cf. Isa 66:24; *Apoc. Abr.* 31; Mark 9:48; and *2 Clem.* 7.6.[573]

16:10S. *Weep … Adam*. Family β has instead: "Weep also you for them; perhaps the Lord God will listen to your voice and have mercy on them."

16:10S Family α adds here an obvious Christian interpolation with a plea for murderers: "Weeping I said, 'Lord God who kindled the sun with his light, have mercy upon the sinners. Lord God who has prepared torment for the men slaughterers and who give us mercy, O Christ, for our sakes, I beseech you, O the Ruler God, take from their necks the word of God and extend your love and have mercy upon the sinners, since yours is the rule and the power …"

COMMENTARY

The wicked receive punishments during their lifetime (as, e.g., in *1 En.* 22:10; *Mek.* Beshalah, Vaihi 4; *Midr. Pss.* 31.3). The description of the retribution for the wicked, placed at the very end of the vision, may have one of the following three subtexts:

(1) It may refer to the past, implying the punishment of Israel and the fall of Jerusalem and thus answering the introductory question of the Prologue: "Why have you set on fire your vineyard and lay it waste?" (1:2).[574] Deuteronomic allusions and paraphrases of 16:2–4G, all in the original connected to the destiny of Israel, may corroborate this suggestion. The most obvious of these paraphrases (in vv. 2 and 4), however, do not occur in S, and thus probably are not original.
(2) The account may also refer to the future eschatological woes, "signs" promising revenge for the wicked in accordance with very common motif of the genre (e.g., Dan 12; *1 En.* 80:2–8; 99; *Jub.* 23:12 and 22; *4 Ezra* 4:52–5:13; 6:13–28; 9:1–6; 13:16ff.; *2 Bar.* 25–27; 48:30–38; 70; *Apoc. Abr.* 30; *Sib. Or.* 2; Mark 13; Rev 8–9 and 15–16). In this case, however, we would also expect to see a wider eschatological account, which is totally absent in this writing.

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573 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 147.
574 Thus Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 151–152; Nickelsburg, "Jewish," 302.

(3) The description of the reward may be part of the general depiction of the retribution mechanism without any specific references. In this case, the past or future destiny of Jerusalem, its people or its destroyers would not find any treatment at the conclusion of the vision. Instead, the vision at this point turn out to be universalistic and rather focused on personal retribution and the celestial Temple, substituting for the values of national salvation, revenge, or renewal of the earthly Temple. The problem of this interpretation is in mostly collective form of the listed plagues.

All these suggestions heavily depend on the text-critical treatment of the section, in which the discrepancies between the versions are very significant. The problem is especially striking with the "Slavonic Conclusion" in 16:5–10S. If G finishes the vision with a dry and not too encouraging enumeration of plagues, S concludes the vision with a more optimistic picture of the beatific afterlife of the righteous, the tortures of the impious, and permission for Baruch to weep on the behalf of the latter.[575]

Whatever is meant in the Slavonic Conclusion, whether additional visits to Paradise and Hell or a summary of previous visions,[576] this section can hardly be original. The Conclusion is not integrated into the overall cosmological structure of *3 Baruch*. All spatial or transitional indications which have played such an important role throughout the whole writing are completely neglected here. Moreover, it can also hardly be an abbreviation of a longer original account. Bauckham, who posits such a longer original, has suggested that the original Slavonic Conclusion could have contained an ascent to the seventh heaven which included a vision of God's Presence (as in *2 Enoch* et al.) and separate visits to Paradise and Hell (as in the Syriac *Transitus Mariae* or in *Gedulat Moshe*).[577] However, this hypothesis of an abbreviation is based on an erroneous reading of the Slavonic text. To be sure, the last promise to see the Glory of God (cf. previous promises in 4:2S; 6:12; 7:2; 11:2) occurs in S at the very end of the vision (16:6S; in previous translations – 16:4S) and thus could be taken to imply a lost continuation of the narrative. Nevertheless, this argument is a result of a mistranslation of imperative forms as a future tense. The angel does not promise: "and *you*

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[575] A prayer for the dead, an important issue for early Christian thought, is attested as early as 2 Macc 12:40–46; cf. *Sifre* Deut. 210; *b. Hor.* 6a.

[576] In the case, "the tortures of the impious" would refer to Hades (ch. 5) and "the resting places of the righteous" – the Lake of Birds (ch. 10), although in S both visions lack clear indications of their connection to the afterlife (see below).

[577] Bauckham, "Hell," 373–74. On the abridgment hypothesis cf. comm. to ch. 11 (*Seven heavens and abridged version*).

will see the Glory of God; and *you will see* the resting places of the righteous, glory and joy and happiness [and] glorification; and *you will see* the tortures of the impious, wailing and groaning, lamentations and the indefatigable worm,"[578] but orders "And *see* [CS **вижь**]" all three times. Baruch's response in the continuation also indicates that he sees or hears at least the sinners (16:7S). This vision is defined as being of the Glory of God, similar to the previous ones (see comm. to 4:2S).

There is also a special reason why S found it so necessary to interpolate this passage. The Slavonic Conclusion is the most detailed treatment of the afterlife in 3 Baruch. In addition to the Oil Reward scene (ch. 15), which also can be interpreted as the reward of the afterlife (see comm. ibid.), postmortem destiny is in the rest of the text of *3 Baruch* only very briefly referred to in G:

– *"the dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly, and he is nourished by them" (4:5G);*
– "men drinking insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, make a transgression worse than Adam, and become far from the Glory of God, and commit themselves to the eternal fire" (4:16G); and
– "the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir" (10:5G).

All these appear exclusively in G. In S Hades is mentioned once (5:3S), and it is not clear whether it is identified or compared with the Serpent. Instead, at the very end of the vision S has rather declarative and formal? reference to the afterlife which compensates for the otherwise total lack of the topic in the version.

The inclusion of paraphrases from LXX and New Testament in G (15:4G; 16:2G; 16:4G; see comm. below), which showcases the erudition of the editor, reflects a deviation from the rest of the book, in which explicit reference to the biblical text is normally avoided. Similarly, the passage that probably develops the prayer agenda of S (16:4S; see comm. to 11:4), as well as the Slavonic Conclusion (overtly intended to provide a conceptual ending), seems to be a later elaboration intended to explain and harmonize a laconic proto-text.[579]

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[578] As translated in Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 678 (in his *Slavonic* the translation is improved). Bauckham, ("Hell," 373) and Harlow (*Baruch*, 37) base their interpretations on this mistake.

[579] Theoretically this elaborations could also substitute another ending, which contradicted the outlook of the Christian redactor. But we do not have textual evidence for this.

15:3S. See comm. to 11:4.

15:4G. The whole verse, absent in S and closely paraphrasing Matt 25:21, 23, must be a Christian interpolation:

3 Baruch	Matthew
You are faithful over a little, he will set you over many things; enter into the joy of our Lord.	You were faithful over a little, I will set you over of many things; enter into the joy of your lord
ἐπὶ ὀλίγῃ ἐστὲ πιστοί, ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὑμᾶς καταστήσει· εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν	ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω· εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου

Cf. an allusion to Matt 25:24, 26 in 15:2G above.

16:2G. Absent in S, the verse is a collage from Deut 31–32. "Angered me by their deeds" is a paraphrase of LXX Deut 31:29, while the second clause is obviously dependent on Deut 32:21.[580]

3 Baruch	LXX *Deuternomy*
But since they angered me by their deeds,	You will anger him by the deeds of your hands (31:29)
go and make them envious and angry and provoke against No-Nation, a nation void of understanding	I will make them envious by No-Nation, I will anger them by a nation void of understanding (32:21)
ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παρώργισάν με ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν	παροργίσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν (31:29)
πορευθέντες παραζηλώσατε αὐτοὺς καὶ παροργίσατε καὶ παραπικράνατε ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτω.	παραζηλώσω αὐτοὺς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει ἐπ' ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ αὐτούς (32:21)
	Cf. παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει ῥ' ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ ὑμᾶς (Rom 10:19)

The wording is very similar to that of LXX (and to its paraphrase in Rom 10:19), and both texts have ἀσύνετος for Heb נבל. The promises of punishment put in Deuteronomy in future are presented as fulfilled in *3 Baruch*. The same is reflected in the paraphrase of Deut 28:1 in 16:4G

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[580] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 141. Cf. also "He will arouse against them the sinful nations who will have no mercy or kindness for them" (*Jub.* 23:23).

(see below). These phrases were supposed to serve as an answer to Baruch's lament in 1:2: "And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but delivered us to such nations, so that they upbraid saying, 'Where is their God?'" (which, in turn, also alludes to Deut 32:37: "Where are their gods?").[581] There are also more allusions in ch. 16 to LXX Deuteronomy. See the list of punishments in 16:3b and Deut 32:41, 25, 16.[582]

This would mean that the plagues are destined for Israel, although in 16:1 we find a more general definition of "sons of men." Furthermore, such an understanding will present the whole retribution mechanism of chs. 15–16, which otherwise looks rather universalistic, as an inner Jewish matter. More probable is that the verse is just another Christian interpolation, characteristic of G, with a tendency to present Jews as the second group, i.e., as sinners to be punished. That is what we find in a most similar parallel to this section, in *Apoc. Paul* 10, where the sinners are identified as "those which have called upon your [Gods's] name."

16:3. *Cut them in twain with the sword* (διχοτομήσατε αὐτοὺς ἐν μαχαίρᾳ) may metaphorically mean "punish them severely" as in Matt 24:51. The rest of the verse alludes to LXX Deut 32:16–43, especially to 32:41 (having both ἀστραπή and μάχαιρα), 32:25 (ἔξωθεν ἀτεκνώσει αὐτοὺς μάχαιρα), and 32:16 (ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις).[583]

Plagues

1. *Number of plagues*. Notably both versions, while differing in the content of plagues, still keep their number – seven, as the number of Egyptian plagues in Ps 78:44–51; 105:28–36; plagues for idolatry in Ezek 6:5–6; Amos 4:6–13; eschatological seven trumpets and seven bowls of Rev 8–9 and 15–16; seven last years each with its own woe of *b. Sanh*. 97a. The twelve plagues of *Jub*. 23:13 can also be divided to seven groups: (1) "disease and stomach pains;" (2) "snow, hail and frost;" (3) "fever, cold and numbness;" (4) "famine," (5) "death," (6) "sword," (7) "captivity." This number also conforms with the Mishna: "Seven kinds of penalties come to the world for seven transgressions" (*m. Abot* 5.8). In the spirit of *Mek*. Beshalah 6 (integrated into the Passover Haggadah), it is possible to divide the plagues of *3 Baruch* in different ways, as to four so also to ten. *Four*: vermins, meteoro-

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581 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 151–152; Nickelsburg, *Jewish*, 302.

582 Harlow, *Baruch*, 155.

583 The instrumental use of ἐν, though known in Greek, may be an indication of Semitized usage; cf. the same use in LXX Deut 31:29 paraphrased in 16:2G above and in Matt 9:34 with similar context.

logical phenomena, death, plague of children. *Ten*: (1) "the caterpillar, and (2) the locust's larva, and (3) the rust, and (4) the grasshopper, [and] (5) hail with (6) lightnings and (7) wrath, and (8) cut them in twain with the sword and (9) with death, and (10) their children with demons." The seven plagues of Rev 15–16 probably contain a separate unit of four in accordance with four elements.[584] Ten plagues are known to *Apoc. Abr.* 30.

2. *Nature of plagues*. Although presented as an element of the personal retribution mechanism, most plagues look collective (cosmic or at least national). Such would be expected in an eschatological context; see collective natural disasters striking the last generations or impious nations in *1 En.* 80:2–8; *Jub.* 23:12 and 22; *Apoc. Abr.* 30; *Sib. Or.* 2; Rev 8–9 and 15–16; etc.

2.1. *Locusts*. The list of four vermins is borrowed from Joel 1:4 and 2:25 although in a changed order. In Joel all Hebrew terms refer to different kinds of locust:

Gk κάμπη "caterpillar"	Heb גזם (also in Am 4:9);
Gk βροῦχος "locust" or "locust's wingless larva"	Heb ילק (in Lev 11:22 it corresponds also to ארבה);
Gk ἐρυσίβη "rust"	Heb חסיל
Gk ἀκρίς "locust," "grasshopper"	Heb ארבה

The uniqueness in *3 Baruch* lies in the locusts taking the majority of the plagues. There are several possible explanation for this:

2.1.1. *Locusts as locusts*. Locust plagues are among the most infamous natural disasters (Deut 28:38, 42; 1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28; 7:13; Pss 78:46; 105:34–35; Joel 1:4; 2:25; Amos 4:9; 7:2; Nah 3:15; Philo, *Mos.* 1.123; *Praem.* 128). They are listed among the punishments for Israel's disobedience to God (Deut 28:34; 1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28) and among the eschatological plagues (*Sib. Or.* 5:454 and Rev 8:3–11). In an agricultural society, the locust was synonymous with death: "let him [God] remove from me this death" (Exod 10:16–17); "If one sees the locust, he says, 'Blessed is the just Judge'" (*y. Ber.* 6.5c; 10.70c; the same formula was used upon being informed of a death). Public fasts are declared even if one locust has been seen in the Land of Israel (*m. Taan.* 3.2; *b. Taan.* 22a).

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584 So Collins, "Numeric," 126.

2.1.2. *Locusts as invaders*. In Joel 1–2 the locusts are the main precursors of the eschatological "Day of the Lord," and also symbolize foreign invaders. This will go well with interpretation A above.

2.1.3. *Locusts as demons*. Being either a natural disaster or foreign invaders still does not justify why they take four of seven plagues. The list does not look balanced, unless one considers the locusts as a symbolic representation of some wider phenomenon. The rationale of the Locusts Plague of *3 Baruch* can be clarified against the background of the analogous plague in the book of Revelation. This juxtaposition enables an association of the plagues of ch. 16 with the motifs of the implied demonology of 1:1 and chs. 2–3, on the one hand, and with the Oil Reward of ch. 15, on the other:

(a) The locusts are one of the eschatological woes of Revelation (9:3–11). Their description also depends upon the locust imagery of Joel 1–2 (they are likened to horses, army, etc.). In Revelation they are described as hybrid demonic creatures identified as the army of Abaddon-Apollyon:

> The appearance of the locusts was like horses prepared for battle; and on their heads appeared to be crowns like gold, and their faces were like the faces of men. They had hair like the hair of women, and their teeth were like the teeth of lions. They had breastplates like breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was like the sound of chariots, of many horses rushing to battle. They have tails like scorpions, and stings; and in their tails is their power to hurt men for five months. They have as king over them, the angel of the abyss; his name in Hebrew is Abaddon, and in the Greek he has the name Apollyon. (Rev 9:7–11)

The "fiery locusts" coming out of the mouth of "a mighty Beast like a whale" (Herm., *Vis.* 4.1.6) must be of the same demonic nature. Can this also be true for the locusts of *3 Baruch*? The list of plagues is the only instance when demons are explicitly mentioned in *3 Baruch* (see below), and a certain implied demonology can be reflected in the images of the celestial satyr-like Builders (chs. 2–3) and probably terrestrial demons defined as "alien spirits" (1:1).

(b) The demonic locusts of Revelation were told to harm "only those people who did not have a seal of God on their foreheads" (Rev 9:4; cf. 7:2–4). The notion of a protective "seal" is a very developed motif in Jewish literature (Gen 4:15; Ezek 9:4–6 [cited in CD 19.12]; *Pss. Sol.* 15:6; *4 Ezra* 6:5; 8:53; *5 Ezra* 2:38, 40; *Acts Andrew* 27; *Ap. John*

31.22–25; cf. Josephus, *Ant*. 8.47 and Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls),[585] while their nature is usually not clarified.[586] However, some Gnostic and Christian sources consistently identify protective "seals" as anointing:

> Give us the seal, for we have heard you saying that the God whom you preach knows his own sheep by his seal … and he commanded them to bring oil, that they might receive the seal by the oil." (*Acts Thom.* 26)

See *Apoc. John* 31.22–25; *Apost. Const.* 7.22; Origen, *Cels.* 6.27; etc.[587] The two are probably identified by Paul: "He anointed us, set his seal of ownershhip on us" (2 Cor 1:21–22). As "seal" protects from demons in Rev 9:4, so anointing is used to exhort demons in Mark 6:13.

The identification of "seal" and chrism can shed light on the protective purpose of the Oil Reward in *3 Baruch*. It is hardly coincidental that in *3 Baruch* we find an opposition between the pious rewarded with oil, and the wicked punished with locusts, while in Revelation there is almost the identical opposition between the pious marked by a "seal" (probably a chrism), and the wicked tortured by demonic locusts. The situation is typical for the laconic symbolic language of *3 Baruch*, which can be deciphered only with the help of more detailed parallels:

3 Baruch	*Revelation* 9:3–4
since they angered me by their deeds … send forth the caterpillar, and the [kind of] locust, and the rust, and [another kind of] locust (16:3)	Then out of the smoke came locusts upon the earth, and power was given them, as the scorpions of the earth have power.
And for the angels who had brought the full baskets, he filled them with oil, saying, "Bring a hundredfold reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds (15:2)	They were told not to hurt the grass of the earth, nor any green thing, nor any tree, but only the men who do not have the seal of God on their foreheads.

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585 E.g., " … doubly-sealed with the seven seals from all evil plagues, from all bad spirits, from monsters, from liliths, and from all blast-demons and harmers" (Isbell, *Incantation,* 83 (#31.24), cf. 21–22, 24, 62, 116).

586 In Josephus, *Ant*. 8.47 it is "a ring that had under its seal a root from among those prescribed by Solomon."

587 In other sources the term could apply also to other ritual marks of the sacral belonging, like circumcision or baptism.

2.2. *Children and demons.* The concluding plague will strike the children of the wicked, who will be hurt "with demons." Children suffer for their fathers' sins in many sources. "Who despises wisdom … their offspring are accursed" (Wis 3:11–13; cf. Ezek 16:44; Sir 41:5; *4 Ezra* 9:17). In the last days "the destitute will go forth and carry off their children, and they will abandon them, so that their children will perish through them" (*1 En.* 99:5). "How dreadful it will be in those days for pregnant women and nursing mothers!" (Mark 13:17). Mass massacre of children forms part of the eschatological scenario of the *Apocalypse of Daniel* (1:10; 2:1).

As for the demons' role in this plague, the demonic Builders hurt a woman in childbirth in *3 Bar.* 3:5. Jewish traditions on Lilith and other demons hurting newborns and women in labor go back to universal beliefs. Akkadian Lamashtu attacks mothers and newborn infants. Hellenistic demons Gello, Lamia, Mormo can cause child death (Pseudo-Herodotus, *Vit. Hom.* 32; *Hom. Epigr.* 14). The sinful generations of Israel "will sacrifice their children to demons" (*Jub.* 1:11). Demons struck human children also in the past:

> the unclean demons began to lead astray the children of the sons of Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons." (*Jub.* 10:1–2).

In the *Testament of Solomon* demons torture boys, strangle newborn children, "blind children in women's wombs, and twirl their ears round," and "make them deaf and mute" (*Test. Sol.* 2; 13). In the time of the Antichrist "the unclean spirits and the demons will … kill the babies of the women and they themselves will suckle from them" (*Apoc. Dan.* 12:1–2). See also Rev 12ff; Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 5.2, and especially *Acts Thom.* 12:

> the more part of children become useless oppressed of devils, some openly and some invisibly, for they become either lunatic or half withered or blind or deaf or dumb or paralytic or foolish; and if they be sound, again they will be vain, doing useless or abominable acts, for they will be caught either in adultery or murder or theft or fornication.

16:4G. This must be one more Christian interpolation with rich intertextuality. "They did not listen to my voice nor observe my commandments, nor do them" is a paraphrase of LXX Deut 28:1: "if you listen to the voice of Lord your God, observe and do all these commandments" (cf. also Exod 15:26; Deut 26:17; 28:15; etc.). The paraphrase is closer to MT and some versions of LXX which have "*his* commandments" instead. "Despisers" (καταφρονηταί) is a term known, e.g., from LXX Hab 1:5 (the

equivalent word is absent in MT, while the whole verse is cited in Acts 13:40) and from Zeph 3:4 (Heb אנשי בגדות): "her prophets are despisers, her priests profane holy things." In verbal form it is used in a similar context in 1 Cor 11:22: "do you despise the assembly of God?"[588] See also Am 2:4: "I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have despised [מאסם] the law of the Lord, and have not observe his commandments" and *4 Ezra* 1:34: "And your children shall not be fruitful; for they have despised my commandment, and done the thing that is an evil before me." Priests in a very similar context appear also in 1 Chr 16:22: "Do not touch not my anointed [i.e., priests], and do not offend my prophets." Hughes notes that the term 'priest' ἱερεύς "does not seem to have been applied to the Christian ministry till the end of the second century."[589]

[588] The latter parallel is brought by Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 149.
[589] Hughes, "Baruch," 543.

D. Return (17)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And as he spoke, the door closed, and we withdrew.	
	1 And a voice from heaven came, saying,
2 And the angel having taken returned me to where I was at the beginning.	"Bring Baruch down to the face of earth,
	so that he will tell the sons of men what he saw and heard, and all the mysteries you gave him."
3 And having come to myself, I gave glory to God, who honored me by such honor.	
4 And you, brothers, who attained such a revelation, yourselves also glorify God, so that he also may glorify you, now and forever, and ever. Amen.	And to our God – let it be glory, now and forever and ever. Amen."

COMMENTARY

As in the conclusion of the vision in the previous chapter, which is full with discrepancies and interpolations, there is great disparity between the two versions of the conclusion of the frame narrative. G and S agree only in the fact that Baruch returns to earth (but not even in the wording of this report) and share the final glorification (cf. the final blessing of the *Book of Watchers*; *1 En.* 36:4), although the latter may be due to a medieval scribal etiquette (cf. the blessing in the Title).

17:1S. *All the mysteries you gave him* (**и вьсѣѧ таины прѣдаста емоу**). See the wording in *Pistis Sophia*: "And also as it was said: 'Righteousness [looked forth] from heaven': righteousness is the power which looked forth from the height, which will *give the mysteries* of the light to the race of mankind" (1.61); "And Michael and Gabriel, who served me and brought the outpouring of light to the Chaos, will *give the mysteries* of the light to them" (2.64).

17:2G. *Returned me to where I was at the beginning*. Compare *2 Bar.* 7:2 (according to the emendation of Charles):[1] "And the Spirit restored me to the place where I once stood."

17:3G. *And having come to myself* (καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθών). This may mean that all the previous was a vision or a dream, but not an actual ascension *in corpore* (in distinction to *2 Enoch*; *Apocalypse of Abraham*; *Testament of Abraham*).[2] On the possible identification of Baruch's vision and the dream of Abimelech, see comm. to T:2. Psychonodia, the ecstatic ascent of the soul without the body, is explicit and typical for later Jewish mysticism,[3] but known also from some early texts. Thus, Er's soul visits heaven and netherworld and returns to the body (Plato, *Rep.* 10.614a–621d). In *1 En.* 71:1 only Enoch's "spirit was carried and ascended into the heavens" (cf. 71:5, 6). Paul twice wonders and cannot decide, if his ascent was "in body" or "outside the body" (2 Cor 12:2–3). The Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* holds to the latter, since Paul sees himself on earth (20). During his vision Isaiah "became silent, and he did not see the men who stood before him, though his eyes were open. Moreover his lips were silent, and the mind of his body was taken up from him, but his breath was in him" (*Asc. Isa.* 6:10–12). Another revelation concludes similarly, even in wording: "When he [Jesus] had said these things, he [Peter] came to himself" (Nag Hammadi *Apoc. Pet.*, end). The regaining of consciousness also comes together with glorification: "And Peter came to himself, and having beheld the Lord ascending up into heaven, he returned to Rome, rejoicing, and glorifying the Lord" (*Acts Pet.* 35). Dream visions are known to Gen 15:12; 28:13; 37:5–10; 40:1–41:49; Dan 2, 4, and 7; *1 En.* 13–14; 83–90; *4 Ezra* 3:1 and 5:14; *T. Levi* 2:5; and *Lad. Jac.* 1:3. The "torpor of prophecy" (תרדמת נבואה) is discussed in *Gen. Rab.* 17.5. Dream is defined there as "an incomplete form of prophecy" (נובלת נבואה חלום). Cf. a reservation about the revelatory quality of dreams in Sir 34:1–6. The fact that Baruch's ascent was not physical may join other indications of the second rate of Baruch's prophetic gift (see comm. to "Baruch" in T:1).

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[1] Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, p. 12.

[2] In *T. Abr.* (A) 9:6 the words "while I am in this body I wish to see all the inhabited world and all the creations" may mean "before the death," and not necessarily an in-body ascent.

[3] See Idel, *Kabbala*, 88–96; *Ascensions*.

I gave glory to God, who honored me by such honor (δόξαν ἔφερον τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἀξιώσαντί με τοιούτου ἀξιώματος). Or: " … appraised me by such apprise." Baruch praises God for the revelation also in *2 Bar.* 54:6–8:

> You have shown to your servant this vision, reveal to me also its interpretation. For I know that as regards those things wherein I besought you, I have received a response, and as regards what I besought, you did reveal to me with what voice I should honor you, and from which members I should cause glory and praise to ascend to you.

God "honored" (τιμῇ) a visionary by the true revelation according to Josephus:

> In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder how God honored Daniel. (*Ant.* 10.11.7)

Our visionary emphasizes certain reciprocity of his praise: he will "give glory" to God, since he "honored" him with a revelation. If *3 Baruch* had a Hebrew original, both terms might have been of the same root (כבד), similarly to 1 Sam 2:30: "I will honor that who honors me" (כי מכבדי אכבד).

17:4G. *And you, brothers, who attained such a revelation* (ὦ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοὶ οἱ τυχόντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἀποκαλύψεως). Dean-Otting notices: "Most remarkably he includes others in his closing remark, intimating that they too have the potential for such experiences … This inclusion of others is an astonishing exception to the other heavenly journey accounts."[4] In fact, what the text must mean is that the audience obtained the revelation *from* Baruch. He shares his revelation with his "friends" (44:1) and the elders of the people also in *2 Baruch* (5:5; 31:3–32:7; 44–46; 77:1–17).

A very similar closing is found in the *Testament of Abraham* (20:15) and many late Christian compositions.[5] The address "brothers" (ἀδελφοί) may indicate a monastic audience and would thus be a later addition, but this is not necessarily the case, as the term is already widely used as an address in the New Testamental epistles (Gal 5–6; Heb 8; and *passim*). It is used in the sense of compatriots in many Jewish texts (cf. Lev 10:5; 25:46; Deut 3:18; 24:7; et al.; *m. Sotah* 7.8; see in similar context *2 Bar.* 77:4; cf. comm. to 15:2G).

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[4] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 153.

[5] See Allison, *T. Abr.*, 410–11.

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